

BIOGRAPHIES  
ON  
HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
AND  
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
MEMBERS

99th Congress

February 1985

SSCI

MEMBERSHIP FOR  
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
99th CONGRESS

REPUBLICANS

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Dave Durenberger (R., MN)  
  
William V. Roth, Jr. (R., DE)  
William S. Cohen (R., ME)  
Orrin G. Hatch (R., UT)  
Frank H. Murkowski (R., AK)  
Arlen Specter (R., PA)  
Chic Hecht (R., NV)  
Mitch McConnell (R., KY)

DEMOCRATS

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Patrick J. Leahy (D., VT)  
  
Lloyd Bentsen (D., TX)  
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Bill Bradley (D., NJ)  
David L. Boren (D., OK)

EX OFFICIO: Robert J. Dole (R., KS)  
Robert C. Byrd (D., WV)

*Minnesota - Senior Senator*

## Dave Durenberger (R)

**Of Minneapolis — Elected 1978**

**Born:** Aug. 19, 1934, St. Cloud, Minn.

**Education:** St. John's U., B.A. 1955; U. of Minn., J.D. 1959.

**Military Career:** Army Reserve, 1956-63.

**Occupation:** Lawyer; adhesive manufacturing executive.

**Family:** Wife, Gilda Beth "Penny" Baran; four children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** No previous office.

**Capitol Office:** 375 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-3244.



**In Washington:** When Durenberger won this seat in 1978, ending 20 years of Democratic control, he brought a change not only in party but in personality. Watching him puff on his pipe at a committee meeting, quietly questioning the logic behind a tax subsidy, it is hard to imagine anyone less like the seat's former occupant, Hubert H. Humphrey. Durenberger after Humphrey is like chamber music after Tchaikovsky.

Ideologically, the difference is not so dramatic. Durenberger pays his respects to the progressive traditions of his state on issues of social services and war and peace. But Humphrey was an effusive, charismatic liberal of the heart. Durenberger, good-humored but analytical, hews to the middle and rarely lets his emotions show.

As a member of Finance and Governmental Affairs, he has specialized in two topics that do not much lend themselves to stem-winding rhetoric. One is his dogged promotion of a plan to rebuild the American health care system through tax incentives. The other is the soporific subject of federal-state relations.

Durenberger's health bill, a Republican answer to Democratic proposals for national health insurance and hospital cost controls, would use tax incentives to induce employers to offer their workers a choice of health insurance plans. The increased competition, Durenberger contends, would force doctors and hospitals to offer better care at a more reasonable price.

The proposal grew out of the success of prepaid health plans in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. It drew a good deal of attention in the 97th Congress, after the new Republican Senate majority made him chairman of the Finance subcommittee governing health, but it made no progress amid the furor over budget and taxes. In the 98th Congress, Durenberger's subcommittee has been immersed in the financial problems of the Medicare program.

Like his views on health care, Durenberger's views on state-federal relations were born in Minnesota. He had his first taste of politics working in state government, and the experience seemed to give him faith in the competence of officials at that level to handle problems.

Durenberger has enhanced his reputation as a theorist of federal-state relations with his chairmanship of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of Governmental Affairs. From that post, and as a member of various advisory groups on intergovernmental relations, Durenberger has pressed the theory of "devolution" — returning power to the most appropriate level of government.

Where Durenberger has differed sharply with the administration is on the financing of relocated programs. While he agrees with President Reagan that the states can be trusted to run income security programs, he believes the federal government is the fairest source of revenue.

Durenberger felt the Reagan New Federalism proposal of 1982 asked state and local governments to take on financial responsibilities they were in no shape to meet. "Some conclude that an appropriate federal partnership can be restored by simply abolishing much of the federal government," he said. "That argument fails to understand the recent history of this country."

In a speech to a convention of county officials, he reviewed the Reagan assertion that the federal government had somehow usurped power from the states, and dismissed it as "baloney."

During his first two years in the Senate, as the ranking Republican on the Finance subcommittee handling revenue sharing, Durenberger emerged as a leading defender of no-strings-attached grants to state governments.

*Dave Durenberger, R-Minn.*

In 1980 Durenberger got the Senate to vote down a House proposal requiring states that accept revenue-sharing to give up other federal aid, dollar-for-dollar. At House insistence, this tradeoff was later restored.

In general, Durenberger has proved more amenable than most Republicans toward preservation of the federal regulatory system. In the 96th Congress, he supported a measure to subsidize consumers who want to participate in regulatory agency hearings. He also aided with supporters of a strong bill to regulate lobbyists. When that bill was foundering on the question of whether lobby groups should be forced to disclose their corporate financial backers, Durenberger crafted a compromise requiring them to reveal the names of supporting organizations, but not the amount of the backing; his amendment narrowly failed, and the bill died with it.

During the 97th Congress, Durenberger generally supported President Reagan's budget and tax initiatives, while leaving plenty of distance between himself and the White House on other issues.

Durenberger was a principal author of the amendment to the 1981 tax bill that allowed unprofitable corporations to lease their unused tax breaks to other companies sitting on highly taxable profits. Tax leasing was intended as a way of assuring that needy Frost Belt industries such as steel and railroads would reap some benefits from the tax cuts aimed at spurring new industrial investment.

A side effect, however, was that many profitable companies ended up wiping out their tax liability. Tax leasing became an embarrassment that Congress repealed the following year, over Durenberger's resistance.

Durenberger fought Reagan administration efforts to abolish the Legal Services program for the poor. He also issued a white paper on national defense in 1982, taking the administration to task for its nuclear weapons build-up and proposing that the United States work toward withdrawing nuclear weapons from Europe.

When Reagan showed up for a fund-raising event in Minnesota, a crowd of protestors gathered outside. Durenberger said if he were not a senator, "I'd be out there demonstrating myself."

**At Home:** Durenberger's image as a quiet problem-solver has won him two impressive Senate victories in a period of four years.

His first campaign, in 1978, was the easier of the two. He rode a Minnesota Republican tide to a comfortable victory. Four years later he had to buck the economic failures of na-

tional and state GOP administrations and the unlimited financial resources of his Democratic rival. Although he won by a narrower margin, his second victory represented a more striking personal triumph.

Durenberger's presence in the Senate is the result of an unusual set of events. When the 1978 political year began, he was preparing a gubernatorial challenge that seemed to be going nowhere. When it ended, he was the state's senior senator.

Durenberger had hovered on the periphery of public office for years, as chief aide to GOP Gov. Harold Levander during the late 1960s and as a well-connected Minneapolis lawyer after that. But he was politically untested, and, in spite of a year-long campaign, he was given little chance to take the nomination for governor away from popular U.S. Rep. Albert H. Quie.

When interim Sen. Muriel Humphrey announced that she would not run for the remaining four years of her late husband's term, Republican leaders asked Durenberger to switch contests. He was easy to persuade.

Democratic disunity aided Durenberger immensely. The party's endorsed candidate, U.S. Rep. Donald M. Fraser, was defeated in a primary by the late Bob Short, a blustery conservative whose campaign against environmentalists alienated much of the Democratic left. Some Democrats chose not to vote in the general election, but even more deserted to Durenberger, who had the endorsement of Americans for Democratic Action. As a result, the Republican won a solid victory.

Durenberger's moderate views antagonized some in the Republicans' conservative wing. At the 1980 state GOP convention, a group of conservative activists, mainly from southern Minnesota, warned him to move right if he wanted their backing for re-election in 1982. Durenberger publicly dismissed their warning, calling it "minority party mentality."

He cleared a major hurdle in early 1981 when former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, a Minnesota senator from 1964 to 1976, announced that he would not seek the office again. That made Durenberger a heavy favorite for re-election, while opening the Democratic side for Mark Dayton, liberal young heir to a department store empire. Although politically inexperienced, Dayton sunk about \$7 million of his personal fortune into an intense two-year Senate campaign.

Dayton made no apologies for his spending, which threatened Jesse Helms' all-time Senate record of \$7.5 million, set in 1978. He contended that unlike Durenberger, he was not

**Dave Durenberger, R-Minn.**

dependent on special interest contributions, and that lavish spending was the only way he could offset the incumbent's perquisites and hefty campaign treasury.

For months Dayton saturated the media with advertising that sought to tie Durenberger to Reaganomics. This expensive blitz pulled Dayton up in the polls, but Durenberger was well positioned for re-election. He contended

that while he was an independent voice in Washington, he had Reagan's respect and could help moderate the administration's course.

Dayton swept the economically depressed Iron Range and the Democratic Twin Cities, but carried little else. Durenberger built a large lead in the suburbs of Minneapolis-St. Paul and most of rural Minnesota that carried him to a 109,000-vote victory statewide.

**Committees**

**Environment and Public Works** (8th of 9 Republicans)  
Toxic Substances and Environmental Oversight (chairman);  
Environmental Pollution; Water Resources.

**Finance** (8th of 11 Republicans)  
Health (chairman); Energy and Agricultural Taxation; Social Security and Income Maintenance Programs.

**Governmental Affairs** (8th of 10 Republicans)  
Intergovernmental Relations (chairman); Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Government Processes; Information Management and Regulatory Affairs.

**Select Ethics** (3rd of 3 Republicans)

**Select Intelligence** (6th of 8 Republicans)  
Legislation and the Rights of Americans (chairman); Budget.

**Elections****1982 General**

Dave Durenberger (R)	949,207	(53%)
Mark Dayton (D)	840,401	(47%)

**1982 Primary**

Dave Durenberger (R)	287,651	(93%)
Mary Jane Rachner (R)	20,401	(7%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1979\* (61%)

\* Special election

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Durenberger (R)	\$3,974,883	\$985,491 (25%)	\$3,901,072
Dayton (D)	\$7,175,356	\$200 (.002%)	\$7,167,263

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	60	28	45	41	39	48
1981	73	24	68	25	59	33
1980	54	42	54	38	42	49
1979	68	30	50	43	33	59

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	+
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	70	32	59	28	
1981	40	62	26	72	
1980	44	72	33	77	
1979	53	36	67	45	50

*Delaware - Senior Senator*

## William V. Roth Jr. (R)

**Of Wilmington — Elected 1970**

**Born:** July 22, 1921, Great Falls, Mont.

**Education:** U. of Ore., B.A. 1944; Harvard U., M.B.A. 1947, LL.B. 1949.

**Military Career:** Army, 1943-46.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Jane Richards; two children.

**Religion:** Episcopalian.

**Political Career:** U.S. House, 1967-71; Republican nominee for Del. lt. gov., 1960.

**Capitol Office:** 104 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-2441.



**In Washington:** After a season in the national spotlight as the original co-author of President Reagan's 1981 tax cut, Roth has returned to the low-key legislative role that has characterized most of his congressional career.

The time since Congress passed the "Roth-Kemp" tax bill has not been easy for him. Almost everybody outside his Senate office has continued to refer to the income tax cut, 25 percent across-the-board over three years, as "Kemp-Roth," after the younger and more dynamic co-author, Republican Rep. Jack F. Kemp of New York.

A symbol of Roth's frustration was the birthday party he organized on the first anniversary of passage of the tax cut. The centerpiece of the celebration, a giant apple pie many feet across, was ruined by demonstrators who walked across it to protest the administration's treatment of the poor.

Actually, the two tax cut sponsors are not identical in their economic views. Kemp has never felt that the level of the federal deficit was a crucial issue as long as taxes were low enough. Roth has always worried about the effect of massive tax reduction on the deficit and the economy if there were no accompanying cut in spending.

A year after the 1981 proposal was enacted, its disappointing result led Reagan to endorse a \$98 billion, three-year tax increase to recover some of the lost revenue. Kemp led the opposition to this move in the House; Roth voted for it in the Senate.

But Roth is a determined and persistent man, and he believes his tax cut will eventually work. He is willing to fight to make sure Reagan keeps the faith as well — blocked by White House aides from meeting with the president in 1983 to urge preservation of the tax cut, Roth went outside normal channels and handed Reagan a letter on the issue during a

bill-signing ceremony.

Broad-stroke tax cuts are Roth's preoccupation at the Finance Committee. The panel is involved in health, welfare and a variety of other issues, but Roth's participation in many of them has been limited.

One personal crusade for Roth is college tuition tax credits. The leading proponent of such a tax credit system in the Senate, he almost got it enacted in the 95th Congress. It passed the Senate without controversy, but died in the House after a dispute over whether it should also apply to tuition for private elementary and secondary schools. Reagan has taken up the cause in the years since then, but Congress has moved no closer to passing it.

A longtime advocate of government reorganization, Roth became chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee in 1981. He supported Reagan's proposal to do away with the Energy Department, but the committee was unable to reach a consensus on dismantling legislation in time for action in the 97th Congress. Roth opposed Reagan's plan to abolish the Education Department and took no action on it.

Roth also wants to see reorganization of the way Congress writes the federal budget. He is the author of a major budget proposal that would establish a two-year budget system, with all government agencies funded under a single spending bill.

Roth has joined his Delaware colleague, Democrat Joseph R. Biden Jr., in pushing anti-busing legislation in the Senate, seeking among other things to limit the power of federal courts to require busing for racial balance. As a member from a small state, he has also joined Biden in opposing direct election of the president and abolition of the Electoral College.

Although Roth's focus these days is pri-

*William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.*

marily on domestic issues, he served on the Foreign Affairs Committee during his two terms in the House, from 1967 to 1971, and remains active in the Trilateral Commission, the private group that seeks ways to strengthen ties among the industrialized nations.

**At Home:** A mild-mannered man, Roth has never been able to generate a great deal of emotion among Delaware voters. But he has been doggedly attentive to state interests, and he has been rewarded for that service with nearly two decades in statewide office.

Born in Montana and educated at Harvard, Roth came to Delaware to work as a lawyer for a chemical firm and got involved in politics. After narrowly losing a 1960 bid for lieutenant governor, he became state Republican chairman.

Running for Delaware's at-large U.S. House seat in 1966, Roth entered the race against veteran Democrat Harris B. McDowell Jr. as a decided underdog. He talked about Vietnam — backing U.S. efforts there but berating the Johnson administration for not explaining the situation more fully — and about open housing legislation, saying he was opposed to it but willing to endorse state GOP convention language in favor of it. Riding the coattails of GOP Sen. J. Caleb Boggs and a national Republican wave that brought 47 GOP freshmen to the House in 1966, Roth pulled off an upset.

McDowell tried for a comeback two years later. But he had alienated members of the state Democratic hierarchy by deploring their "old and tired leadership." Buoyed by his first-term record of strong constituent service, Roth pushed his margin of victory to nearly 60 percent of the statewide vote.

With the retirement of Republican Sen. John J. Williams in 1970, Roth became the uncontested choice of the party against the Democratic state House leader, Jacob W. Zimmerman. Zimmerman, a Vietnam dove, had little money or statewide name recognition, and the contest was never much in doubt.

In 1976 Roth had a strong Democratic challenger — Wilmington Mayor Thomas C. Maloney. But Roth's efforts against busing had

given him an excellent issue to run on, and Maloney was hurt by the coolness of organized labor, which was upset over the mayor's frugal approach to municipal pay raises. One state labor leader openly called Maloney a "union buster." Roth's margin was down from 1970, but he was too strong in the suburbs for Maloney to have any chance to beat him statewide.

Running for a third term in 1982, Roth faced his most difficult Senate test. As cosponsor of the supply-side tax cut, Roth was a visible target for complaints about the economy — and, like other industrial states, Delaware had felt the effects of recession.

David N. Levinson, Roth's hard-charging Democratic opponent, encouraged voters to link Roth to Reaganomics and the woes he claimed it had produced. Parodying John Steinbeck's novel about the Great Depression, Levinson branded the administration's economic blueprint "the grapes of Roth."

The incumbent did not shy away from his legislation; billboards advertising his candidacy read, "Bill Roth, the Taxpayer's Best Friend." But he was careful to offer evidence of his concern for Frost Belt economic needs. When the Senate took up Reagan's first package of spending cuts in 1981, Roth voted against reductions in three programs important to Delaware: the Conrail transportation system, trade adjustment assistance to unemployed workers and energy subsidies for the poor.

If Levinson was an aggressive candidate, he was also one with serious flaws. A wealthy real estate developer, he had made his fortune in the St. Louis area, not in Delaware, and Roth focused on that fact in radio spots, suggesting the Democrat had come into the state just to challenge him.

Levinson campaigned for the seat for over two years; his efforts garnered him endorsements from labor and most of the other important groups Democrats need to be competitive statewide. But that was not enough. Roth lost Wilmington, but more than made up the difference in suburban New Castle County and in the rural territory south of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.

**Committees**

Governmental Affairs (Chairman)  
 Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (chairman).  
 Finance (3rd of 11 Republicans)  
 Economic Growth, Employment and Revenue Sharing; International Trade; Savings, Pensions and Investment Policy.  
 Select Intelligence (7th of 8 Republicans)  
 Analysis and Production; Budget.  
 Joint Economic  
 Trade, Productivity and Economic Growth (chairman); Agriculture and Transportation.  
 Joint Taxation

**Elections****1982 General**

William Roth (R) 105,357 (55%)  
 David Levinson (D) 84,413 (44%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1976 (56%) 1970 (59%)  
 1968\* (59%) 1966\* (56%)

\* House elections.

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Roth (R)	\$841,151	\$350,073 (42%)	\$783,171
Levinson (D)	\$772,579	\$184,636 (24%)	\$758,841

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	77	20	76	22	83	16
1981	75	24	72	26	75	24
1980	41	55	85	12	87	10
1979	46	47	72	22	67	23
1978	32	62	82	14	80	15
1977	58	39	81	14	87	8

1976	66	28	70	24	75	19
1975	63	33	65	29	64	28
1974 (Ford)	54	46				
1974	71	27	68	28	76	19
1973	71	25	76	22	79	20
1972	83	17	79	19	84	14
1971	85	15	84	15	79	21

**House service**

1970	72	26	69	25	75	25
1969	70	30	85	15	73	24
1968	54	35	74	15	71	16
1967	52	48	64	16	87	13

S - Support

O - Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981) Y  
 Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981) Y  
 Index income taxes (1981) N  
 Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981) N  
 Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982) N  
 Retain tobacco price supports (1982) N  
 Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982) Y  
 Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982) Y  
 Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982) Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	50	55	27	67	
1981	20	70	32	78	
1980	22	73	21	80	
1979	21	70	21	64	73
1978	15	83	11	89	
1977	20	88	16	88	
1976	10	84	26	56	
1975	33	57	25	80	
1974	38	74	18	80	
1973	40	83	9	67	
1972	25	73	10	80	
1971	19	67	8	-	
House service					
1970	20	79	29	100	
1969	7	65	30	-	
1968	8	86	33	-	
1967	7	90	8	90	

Maine - Senior Senator

## William S. Cohen (R)

Of Bangor — Elected 1978

**Born:** Aug. 28, 1940, Bangor, Maine.  
**Education:** Bowdoin College, B.A. 1962; Boston U., LL.B. 1965.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Diane Dunn; two children.  
**Religion:** Unitarian.  
**Political Career:** Bangor City Council, 1969-72; mayor of Bangor, 1971-72; U.S. House, 1973-79.  
**Capitol Office:** 131 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-2523.



In Washington: Cohen no longer draws the headlines that he attracted a decade ago, when he argued for President Nixon's impeachment on the House Judiciary Committee. Since his arrival in the Senate in 1979, he has established a record of solid workaday productivity on his two major committees, Armed Services and Governmental Affairs.

He still has a flair for subtle self-promotion — a diary of his first year in the Senate, published in 1981, portrays a senator almost too sincere and too thoughtful to be believed. But most of his legislative accomplishments have had little to do with public relations.

On Armed Services, Cohen is respected for his work as chairman of the Sea Power Subcommittee. He has been sympathetic to the "military reform" proposals of Colorado Democrat Gary Hart, who feels the Navy should focus its efforts on building larger numbers of smaller ships. But he is generally on the side of substantially increased military spending, and he worries that the American public might never support the effort needed to match the Soviet Navy.

"We live in a free society which simply will not appropriate the number of dollars necessary," he has said, "at a time in which the American people think they are at peace." He himself is not so sure we are at peace.

A vigorous opponent of the SALT II treaty, Cohen has some novel ideas about arms control. Early in 1983 he began pushing the idea of a "guaranteed arms build-down," under which the superpowers would agree to eliminate two older nuclear warheads or bombers for every new one they built. The proposal, developed with Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, attracted considerable interest within the Reagan administration.

While his Watergate fame has faded, Cohen remains interested in the issues that emerged from it, such as the 1978 special

prosecutor law. He agreed with the Reagan administration that the law was not working well — its provisions were put into effect too easily and applied to too many people.

But Cohen refused to abandon the law, as the Reagan White House proposed. Instead, he developed legislation, reported by his Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, that tightened the standards for appointing a special prosecutor. The bill became law early in 1983.

In that effort, Cohen worked closely with subcommittee Democrat Carl Levin of Michigan; the two also combined in 1982 to produce a law protecting Social Security disability recipients from a rapid loss of benefits. Cohen was sharply critical of President Reagan's campaign to cut disability rolls, which he said inflicted severe hardship on many innocent people.

At Home: Cohen all but assured himself of a statewide political future on the day he spoke out for Nixon's impeachment, carving an image not only as a Republican of conscience, but as a man who knew how to give a good speech.

His good looks, easygoing manner and careful questioning were perfect for television. As one of just six Judiciary Committee Republicans favoring impeachment, he drew wide media attention, most of it favorable. *Time* magazine named him one of America's 200 future leaders, and the Jaycees called him one of the 10 outstanding young men in the nation.

From that point on, his elevation to the Senate was pretty much a matter of time.

If there had been no Watergate, however, the odds are he would be in the Senate by now anyway. His Judiciary Committee performance merely added to the "rising star" reputation he had carried with him most of his life, beginning in his high school and college days on the basketball court.

**William S. Cohen, R-Maine**

He thought about becoming a Latin scholar, but went to law school instead and finished among the top 10 members of his class. It was less than a decade from law school to the Bangor mayoralty.

Cohen became mayor in 1971, after three years on the City Council. But he did not hold the job very long. Rep. William D. Hathaway was running for the Senate the same year, and his 2nd District was open. Cohen won it easily, doing exceptionally well for a Republican in many Democratic areas.

After the 1974 period of Watergate celebrity, Cohen began to think about the proper timing for a Senate effort — he spent nearly a year considering a 1976 campaign against Maine's senior senator, Edmund S. Muskie. Private polls showed him close to Muskie, but challenging the state's most durable Democrat was no sure thing. Prudence dictated a two-year wait and a campaign against Hathaway, more liberal and less of an institution.

Knowing he was in trouble, Hathaway worked hard to save himself in 1978, but Cohen had almost no weaknesses. The personal glamour of 1974 had never really worn off, and state and national media refurbished it for the campaign. Cohen shifted slightly to the right, arguing that Hathaway was too liberal for most of Maine. He also worked for Democratic votes, concentrating his efforts in such places as Portland's Irish-Catholic Munjoy Hill section.

Hathaway had not done anything in particular to offend the voters, but the challenger overwhelmed him. The Democrat was held in a three-way contest to 33.9 percent, one of the lowest figures for any Senate incumbent.

One of Cohen's few political missteps was his all-out support for Tennessee Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. Cohen tried to engineer a straw-poll victory for Baker at a late 1979 statewide party gathering in Portland, but the Tennessean lost in a surprise to George Bush.

**Committees**

**Armed Services** (6th of 10 Republicans)  
Sea Power and Force Projection (chairman); Manpower and Personnel; Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces.

**Governmental Affairs** (5th of 10 Republicans)  
Oversight of Government Management (chairman); Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Government Processes; Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

**Select Intelligence** (8th of 8 Republicans)  
Budget; Collection and Foreign Operations; Legislation and the Rights of Americans.

**Special Aging** (5th of 8 Republicans)

**Elections**

**1978 General**

William Cohen (R)	212,294	(56%)
William Hathaway (D)	127,327	(34%)
Hayes Gahagan (I)	27,824	(7%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1976\* (77%) 1974\* (71%)  
1972\* (54%)

\* House elections.

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1978</b>			
Cohen (R)	\$658,254	\$157,551 (24%)	\$648,739
Hathaway (D)	\$423,499	\$166,594 (39%)	\$423,027

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	67	31	62	36	47	52
1981	76	19	69	25	59	36

	1980	43	42	64	23	58	30
1979	55	37	62	34	55	38	
<b>House service</b>							
1978	39	37	58	27	59	24	
1977	67	29	50	44	48	45	
1976	43	57	41	58	50	50	
1975	62	37	56	42	49	48	
1974 (Ford)	48	37					
1974	55	43	42	50	38	57	
1973	53	46	46	52	38	60	

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	55	57	27	42	
1981	35	61	33	76	
1980	33	68	22	70	
1979	42	62	39	64	53
<b>House service</b>					
1978	30	58	21	63	
1977	65	48	59	62	
1976	50	18	52	38	
1975	74	54	57	59	
1974	61	27	64	40	
1973	52	27	64	45	

Utah - Junior Senator

## Orrin G. Hatch (R)

Of Midvale — Elected 1976

**Born:** March 22, 1934, Pittsburgh, Pa.

**Education:** Brigham Young U., B.S. 1959; U. of Pittsburgh, LL.B. 1962.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Elaine Hansen; six children.

**Religion:** Mormon.

**Political Career:** No previous office.

**Capitol Office:** 135 Russell Bldg. 20515; 224-5251.



In Washington: Hatch's rapid rise to power in the Senate has been accompanied by a shift toward the political center, one that has lessened the aura of militance that made him a "New Right" favorite during his first years in office.

Hatch insists he has not changed much — he says he never deserved the "ultra-conservative" label. But if his ideology is not greatly different, his style certainly is: Over two years as chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Constitution Subcommittee at Judiciary, Hatch has sometimes sounded so conciliatory that those watching have wondered what happened to him.

"If I didn't know better," a liberal House Democrat remarked after watching Hatch during a 1981 budget conference, "I would have thought I heard the distinct accents of a born-again liberal." At the time, Hatch was fighting successfully to retain \$1 billion in the budget for education and training programs. He had just finished persuading the Reagan administration not to seek cuts in funding for the Job Corps. He was not the labor-baiting Republican they had come to know.

"The chairman can't just snap his fingers and expect things to happen," Hatch has said, and his experience as head of his two panels bears him out. He was repeatedly frustrated in the 97th Congress, and had to make major compromises in hopes of passing legislation. Those deals sometimes angered his hard-line supporters.

The Labor Committee under Hatch has been deadlocked between liberals and conservatives. His Judiciary panel has considered an ambitious agenda of longtime goals of conservatives, such as a balanced federal budget and abortion curbs, but none of the proposals has yet become law.

As he searches patiently for compromise, Hatch seems far different from the aggressive outsider who arrived in 1977, ready to do battle with the Washington establishment and its

"soft-headed inheritors of wealth." He was an angry man in those days, and he quickly drew a reputation as a humorless person who did not fit well into Senate camaraderie.

"Borin' Orrin," critics called him, after his slow monotone occupied the Senate for weeks as he mounted a successful filibuster against the 1978 labor law revision bill. That was partly sour grapes from backers of the bill, but it reflected a widespread perception even on his own side of the aisle. In 1979, when he ran for the chairmanship of the Senate GOP campaign committee, Hatch thought he had enough commitments of support to win. But when the vote was taken, John Heinz of Pennsylvania had beaten him. Some senators said afterward that Hatch's reputation as a strident conservative ideologue had cost him votes.

The perception had begun to change by the time Hatch took over the Labor Committee in 1981. It evolved further as he worked to resolve the deep disagreements on the panel over President Reagan's proposed budget cuts.

The Reagan administration proposed ending many of the existing programs and replacing them with "block grants" to the states, at a lower level of funding. But there was no majority for that approach. Hatch labored through the spring to find a compromise position that could win a committee majority without losing the support of the administration. Ultimately, he agreed to a compromise turning some of the programs into block grants, but leaving many of them intact.

Meanwhile, Hatch had shown considerable skill in managing the committee through an earlier controversy — the nomination of Raymond J. Donovan to be secretary of labor. Despite criticism from the White House, Hatch insisted on a vigorous investigation of Donovan, who was accused of having ties to organized crime.

**Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah**

Even after he was confirmed by the Senate, however, Donovan's legal problems persisted, and Hatch was dragged further into the case. When committee staffers renewed their investigation, Donovan associates hired private detectives to investigate the staffers. There was even an alleged death threat against one staff member. A special federal prosecutor eventually declined to indict Donovan, but not until after Hatch learned with some irritation that White House officials had withheld damaging information from the committee during the nomination hearings.

Many labor loyalists were sure that Hatch's chairmanship would guarantee angry confrontations between him and the unions. Ever since he led the 1978 labor law filibuster, Hatch had been viewed by labor as its arch-enemy in the Senate. The reality has been far less cataclysmic.

As chairman in the 97th Congress, Hatch did win committee approval for a few relatively minor bills fighting labor corruption. But more controversial proposals, such as changes in pension laws, went nowhere. "It is next to impossible to do anything on that committee without the approval of labor union leaders in Washington," he has complained.

Another Hatch proposal, which got through the Labor panel but not much further, would have allowed help for people in Utah and other Western states who had been exposed to radiation during the atomic bomb tests of the 1950s. Hatch proposed that cancer victims be eligible for claims against the government if they could show that there was even a small statistical chance that their disease was caused by the radiation exposure. But the proposal had high potential costs and complex legal implications, and it never reached the floor.

Hatch's job on the Judiciary Committee changed in 1981 from one of blocking liberal legislation to that of trying to advance conservative proposals.

His most notable success during the 97th Congress as chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee was the narrow Senate approval in 1982 of a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. With strong backing from President Reagan, Hatch secured the two-thirds majority needed for passage. The House rejected the amendment.

The debate over the balanced budget proposal was mild, however, compared with the storm of controversy Hatch encountered on the abortion issue. Hatch ended up thoroughly angering many militant "right-to-life" anti-abortionists, but not making much progress on his own anti-abortion proposal.

Hatch argued that only a constitutional amendment would be sufficient to overturn the Supreme Court's decision permitting abortion — a crucial difference with militant groups that wanted to ban abortion by statute and thus avoid the constitutional amendment process.

Moreover, Hatch's amendment in effect turned the issue over to the states, allowing them to make any decision they wanted, while some right-to-life groups sought a national prohibition. Hatch's constitutional amendment was approved by the Judiciary Committee, but never made it to the Senate floor.

Before the Republican takeover of the Senate, Hatch won a notable victory on Judiciary in blocking legislation to strengthen federal enforcement of open housing laws. He led a successful filibuster against the bill late in the 1980 congressional session.

He sought to add to the bill a requirement that the government prove that alleged violators of open housing laws had intended to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing. But last-minute negotiations broke down, and the bill died.

In the 97th Congress, the most important civil rights issue at Judiciary was extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and here too Hatch was one of the critics.

He focused on the "intent" concept. Civil rights groups were pushing to expand the law to allow voting rights violations to be proved by showing that an election law or procedure produced a discriminatory result, whether intentional or not.

Hatch fought to retain the existing law's standard, which required proof that there had been an intent to discriminate in setting up election laws. The "results" test, he warned, would lead to proportional representation of minorities in Congress and state legislatures. But the Judiciary Committee approved a compromise version essentially retaining the "results" test.

**At Home:** If Hatch has changed in Washington, the perception of him by his critics in Utah has not. Bidding for a second term in 1982, he found himself under strong challenge for being rigid both in his conservative views and his personal style.

Ted Wilson, his affable Democratic opponent, was a more than credible candidate. As two-term mayor of Salt Lake City, Wilson had become a well-known figure throughout the state, and he carefully began building his challenge to Hatch a year in advance. With Wilson trailing the incumbent by only 7 percentage points in a January 1982 poll taken by the

## Utah - Junior Senator

*Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, Hatch looked vulnerable.

Wilson was not the only one with designs on the incumbent. After Hatch blocked labor law revision in 1978, the late AFL-CIO President George Meany had vowed, "We'll defeat you no matter what it takes." But while Hatch's longtime status as a labor antagonist guaranteed Wilson strong union support, unions are not the most useful allies in conservative Utah. Being a labor target almost certainly did Hatch more good than harm.

Hatch also sought to meet complaints about his demeanor. Funding a television campaign with a treasury nearly three times the size of his opponent's, he ran ads that showed him playing with children and dogs.

Wilson, hoping to maintain his early momentum, spent much of the campaign sifting through various strategies searching for a way to undo the incumbent. He branded Hatch's politics as extremist, indicted his style as "strident and contentious," accused him of caring more about national conservative causes than about Utah, and, finally, criticized the Reagan economic philosophy that Hatch vowed he would continue to fight for if re-elected.

The latter approach probably did not help. Utah gave Reagan 73 percent of its presidential ballots in 1980 — his best showing in the country — and the president's popularity remained high there in late 1982. Buoyed by two Reagan visits to the state during the campaign, Hatch held onto his seat with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

Reagan also played an important role in Hatch's path to Washington in 1976. Then a political neophyte, Hatch mounted a Senate candidacy that represented as pure an example of anti-Washington politics as the nation has seen in recent years.

Hatch's lack of government experience at any level almost certainly helped him. In his private legal practice, he had represented clients fighting federal regulations.

Hatch was recruited for the Senate campaign against incumbent Democrat Frank E. Moss by conservative leader Ernest Wilkerson, who had challenged Moss in 1964. The campaign attracted the zeal and money of some conservatives who had been politically inactive.

Hatch's competitor for the Republican nomination was Jack W. Carlson, former U.S. assistant secretary of the interior. Carlson, seen as the front-runner, underscored his extensive Washington experience, arguing that it would make him a more effective senator. Besides the Interior Department, he had served with the Office of Management and Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Defense Department.

That was the wrong record for Utah in 1976. Hatch, seeing that the state was fed up with federal rules, took the opposite approach. The party convention gave him 778 votes to 930 for Carlson, a Ford supporter. In the weeks that remained before the primary, Hatch won numerous converts. The day before the voting, he reinforced his conservative credentials by running newspaper ads trumpeting his endorsement by Reagan. Hatch won by almost 2-to-1.

The primary gave Hatch a publicity bonus that helped him catch up to Moss, who faced no party competitors. Moss, seen as a liberal by Utah standards, had helped himself at home by investigating Medicaid abuses and fighting to ban cigarette advertising from television. He stressed his seniority and the tangible benefits it had brought the state. But Hatch argued successfully that the real issue was limiting government and taxes, and that he would be more likely to do that than Moss.

**Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah****Committees**

**Labor and Human Resources (Chairman)**  
Education, Arts and the Humanities; Employment and Productivity; Labor.

**Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (10th of 10 Republicans)**  
Agricultural Research and General Legislation; Nutrition; Soil and Water Conservation, Forestry and Environment.

**Budget (5th of 12 Republicans)**

**Judiciary (4th of 10 Republicans)**  
Constitution (chairman); Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks; Security and Terrorism.

**Small Business (3rd of 10 Republicans)**  
Government Regulation and Paperwork (chairman); Capital Formation and Retention.

**Elections**

**1982 General**

Orrin G. Hatch (R) 309,332 (58%)

Ted Wilson (D) 219,482 (41%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (54%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hatch (R)	\$3,834,906	\$884,762 (23%)	\$3,490,953
Wilson (D)	\$1,706,409	\$339,784 (20%)	\$1,670,409

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	14	80	12	90	6
1981	87	11	89	8	91	7
1980	31	65	79	15	82	15
1979	27	68	90	3	90	3
1978	19	75	93	3	93	3
1977	41	49	88	1	91	1

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	-

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	5	95	5	70	
1981	0	85	11	100	
1980	17	96	11	90	
1979	11	96	6	100	87
1978	5	96	11	94	
1977	0	82	12	100	

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*Alaska - Junior Senator*

## Frank H. Murkowski (R)

**Of Fairbanks — Elected 1980**

**Born:** March 28, 1933, Seattle, Wash.  
**Education:** Seattle University, B.A. 1955.  
**Military Career:** Coast Guard, 1955-56.  
**Occupation:** Banker.  
**Family:** Wife, Nancy Gore; six children.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Alaska commissioner of economic development, 1967-70; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1970.  
**Capitol Office:** 254 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-6665.



In Washington: Murkowski, unlike most of the 16 Republicans in the Senate class of 1980, went virtually unnoticed by the national media during his first two years in office. While Jeremiah Denton, John P. East, Paula Hawkins and other freshman senators were grabbing headlines — many of them unflattering — Murkowski kept a very low profile.

Most of his work was as a junior partner to Alaska's senior senator, Ted Stevens, the GOP majority whip. Murkowski, Stevens and two other senators played a key role in prodding construction of the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline. The pipeline is to deliver gas from Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, to users throughout the continental United States.

The 1977 law authorizing construction of the pipeline stipulated that the project would be privately financed, and that gas consumers could not be billed for the construction costs until the line was completed and operating. But construction costs have quadrupled beyond original estimates.

Murkowski joined in an effort to write a partial waiver of the 1977 law so that consumers would be billed as large portions of the pipeline were completed. Despite objections that the waivers were a consumer rip-off, both the House and the Senate approved them.

Murkowski also has worked with Stevens in pushing for a bill directing the federal government to share with coastal states some of the revenue from offshore oil and gas leases. No other state has as much of its offshore acreage leased for drilling as Alaska.

Efforts by some senators to reduce the seal harvest on Alaska's Pribilof Islands prompted Murkowski to enter foreign policy. The federal government pays Aleuts on the Pribilofs \$250,000 to harvest the seal skins during the five-week summer breeding season. The harvest is then distributed among U.S., Canada,

Japan and the Soviet Union.

Murkowski says this arrangement provides much-needed jobs for the Aleuts. But Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, a member of Foreign Relations, argued in the 97th Congress that taxpayers' money should not be spent on killing seals.

Dodd's proposal for a drastic reduction in the harvest was beaten 9-6 in the Foreign Relations Committee. On the floor, the arrangement was extended after Dodd's side attached a provision calling for a study to explore alternative sources of employment for the Aleuts.

At the beginning of the 98th Congress, Murkowski left his seat on Environment and Public Works to become the only newly added member of Foreign Relations. Murkowski's presence does nothing to shift the balance on the committee, where the GOP has a 9-8 advantage. Murkowski follows the same pro-administration line as the man he replaced, retired California Sen. S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa.

Murkowski took Hayakawa's spot as chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, a useful forum to speak for his constituents who are concerned about Japanese fishing in Alaskan waters.

**At Home:** Except for three years in state government and one failed campaign for the House, Murkowski had spent his entire adult life in banking before he announced for the Senate in June of 1980.

His status as a relative newcomer to politics hardly seemed an advantage against Democrat Clark S. Gruening, a popular two-term state legislator and grandson of the legendary Ernest Gruening, a former Alaska senator and governor. But Democratic disunity and the Reagan tide brought Murkowski a solid victory.

Throughout much of the early campaign

**Frank H. Murkowski, R-Alaska**

season, Murkowski's effort was obscured by the bitter Democratic primary. To win the Democratic nomination, Gruening had to get past Sen. Mike Gravel, the two-term incumbent. It was a matter of revenge for Gruening; Gravel was the man who had ousted his grandfather from the Senate 12 years before.

Gravel's legislative behavior helped make Gruening's primary victory possible. Battling to prevent the Senate from enacting legislation restricting development of Alaska's lands, Gravel resorted to an obstructionism so strident and obnoxious that he did his cause more harm than good. A few days before the primary, the Senate succeeded in closing debate on a Gravel filibuster against the Alaska bill, lending credence to Gruening's charges that he had lost influence in the chamber. Although forecasters had predicted a tight race, Gruening won by a comfortable margin.

Gruening also outpolled Murkowski by more than 2-to-1 in Alaska's open primary, in which all candidates appear on the same ballot regardless of party affiliation. Although Murkowski took the GOP nomination with ease, the comparison seemed significant — historically, the top vote getter in the primary has gone on to win the general election.

But Murkowski was able to buck tradition

by keeping attention focused on Gruening's record in the Legislature. Accusing him of being too liberal for the state's electorate, Murkowski claimed the Democrat had supported the legalization of marijuana. He also tied Gruening to the environmentalist Sierra Club, anathema to pro-development Alaskans.

Gruening claimed his legislative experience made him more qualified to be a U.S. senator. But most voters did not agree. Buoyed by national Republican help and a treasury exceeding \$700,000 — nearly half of which came from political action committees — Murkowski did very well in his Fairbanks base and upset Gruening in the Democrat's hometown of Anchorage, Alaska's largest city.

A Seattle native who moved to Alaska while in high school, Murkowski got his first taste of elective politics in 1970. That year he defeated a member of the John Birch Society in a Republican primary for Alaska's at-large House seat, left vacant when Rep. Howard W. Pollock sought the governorship. He lost the general election to Democratic state Sen. Nick Begich, but the experience whet his appetite. After serving for nine years as president of the Alaska National Bank of the North, at Fairbanks, he quit banking and announced for the Senate.

**Committees**

Energy and Natural Resources (7th of 11 Republicans)  
Energy Regulation (chairman); Energy and Mineral Resources; Water and Power.

Foreign Relations (9th of 9 Republicans)  
East Asian and Pacific Affairs (chairman); International Economic Policy; Western Hemisphere Affairs

Select Indian Affairs (4th of 4 Republicans)

Veterans Affairs (4th of 7 Republicans)

**Elections****1980 General**

Frank Murkowski (R) 84,159 (54%)  
Clark Gruening (D) 72,007 (46%)

**1980 Primary**

Frank Murkowski (R) 16,292 (59%)  
Arthur Kennedy (R) 5,527 (20%)  
Morris Thompson (R) 3,635 (13%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Murkowski (R)	\$712,837	\$304,971 (43%)	\$697,387
Gruening (D)	\$512,411	\$2,750 (.1%)	\$507,445

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	11	91	5	89	1
1981	82	11	83	11	85	9

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	?
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	70	24	70
1981	15	65	24	93

*Pennsylvania - Junior Senator*

## Arlen Specter (R)

**Of Philadelphia — Elected 1980**

**Born:** Feb. 12, 1930, Wichita, Kan.

**Education:** U. of Pa., B.A. 1951; Yale U., LL.B. 1956.

**Military Career:** Air Force, 1951-53.

**Occupation:** Lawyer; law professor.

**Family:** Wife, Joan Lois Levy; two children.

**Religion:** Jewish.

**Political Career:** Philadelphia district attorney, 1966-74; Republican nominee for mayor of Philadelphia, 1967; defeated for re-election as district attorney, 1973; sought Republican nomination for U.S. Senate, 1976; sought Republican nomination for governor, 1978.

**Capitol Office:** 360 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4254.



**In Washington:** One look at Specter's Senate voting record makes it clear that something in him harks back to his early days in politics, when he was a liberal Democrat crusading for reform as an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia.

Specter switched to the GOP in 1965 out of hostility to his city's entrenched Democratic establishment, but his urban Republicanism sets him apart from most of those in his 1980 GOP class.

In 1982 Specter was at the top of the list of Senate Republicans whose votes most often ran counter to President Reagan's wishes: Specter, Lowell P. Weicker of Connecticut and John H. Chafee of Rhode Island each opposed Reagan more than 40 percent of the time.

When Supreme Court nominee Sandra Day O'Connor came to Judiciary Committee confirmation hearings in 1981, freshman Republican senators Jeremiah Denton, John P. East and Charles E. Grassley pressed her to denounce the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling legalizing abortion.

Specter attacked from an opposite direction. He joined with Democrats Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Patrick J. Leahy to endorse the concept of "judicial activism" — the practice of judges making social policy through their rulings. Specter said the "strict constructionist" view that conservatives wanted to impose on O'Connor would preclude decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, the landmark 1954 school desegregation case.

Specter takes a dim view of efforts to legislate against abortion and busing. He and Maryland's Charles McC. Mathias Jr. were the only two Republicans voting "no" in March 1982 as Judiciary approved a proposed constitutional amendment giving Congress and the

states joint authority to enact legislation restricting abortion. He joined Mathias and other moderate Republicans in opposing a bill to bar federal courts from ordering a student bused beyond the school nearest the pupil's home.

During the 97th Congress, Specter generally supported the president on the key budget and tax votes that were the foundation of Reaganomics. But he consistently showed more interest than most Republicans in providing short-term help to people and businesses affected by the recession.

In the early months of 1983, he pushed several recession relief measures: a bill cosponsored with Carl Levin, D-Mich., to extend emergency supplemental unemployment benefits for six months; a bill providing money to jobless people in danger of losing their homes to foreclosure; and a proposal to permit federal courts to issue injunctions against foreign imports if the imports were being "dumped" (sold at a price below the cost of production) on the U.S. market.

Specter tried to attach the anti-dumping measure to a trade bill that strengthened the president's power to retaliate against foreign unfair trading practices. But opponents of Specter's proposal said it was overly protectionist, and the amendment was tabled, 57-32.

Specter's background as a prosecutor and lawyer made him a natural choice for Judiciary, and it is there that he has found the most common ground with other Republicans.

His biggest victory in Judiciary came in late 1982 when the committee approved his "career criminal" bill. It proposed giving federal courts jurisdiction to try criminal cases involving repeat state offenders who use firearms to commit crimes such as burglary and robbery. Those found guilty would face a man-

Arlen Specter, R-Pa.

mandatory minimum prison term of 15 years, a fine of \$10,000, or both, and would be ineligible for probation or parole.

Specter said the bill would expedite prosecution of dangerous criminals by shifting cases from overworked state criminal courts into federal courts. He said it would help deter serious crimes, because federal judges generally impose longer sentences than state judges. The measure did not make it to the Senate floor on its own, but it was included in an omnibus crime bill put together by House and Senate conferees near the end of the 97th Congress. It did not become law, though; Reagan vetoed it, mostly for reasons unrelated to Specter's part of the legislation.

After he was named chairman of Judiciary's subcommittee on Juvenile Justice in 1981, one of Specter's first tasks was to rescue a major program under his jurisdiction. Reagan wanted to lump juvenile justice programs into social services block grants to the states and eliminate the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

The Senate Budget Committee acceded to Reagan's request. But Specter convinced Judiciary to save the agency by suggesting that its authorization be cut to \$70 million.

**At Home:** To some in Pennsylvania, Specter's 1980 campaign for the Senate seemed like the last gasp of a fading politician. Once the bright young star of Pennsylvania GOP politics, he had lost much of his luster following defeats for mayor of Philadelphia in 1967 and for re-election as the city's district attorney in 1973. When he failed in two more statewide primary campaigns, in 1976 and 1978, it appeared that his triumphs were behind him.

But he decided to make one more try when Republican Richard S. Schweiker announced he would leave the Senate in 1981.

Although Specter's past campaigns had given him greater statewide exposure than any other GOP candidate, it seemed at first that he carried too much baggage even to win the nomination over Bud Haabestad, the state GOP chairman. Haabestad had the backing of Schweiker, Republican Gov. Richard L. Thornburgh and Sen. John Heinz, who all appeared in television ads touting his candidacy.

But Haabestad, Thornburgh's hand-picked state chairman, was disliked by organization Republicans. Thornburgh had abolished much of the traditional GOP patronage system in Pennsylvania, and Haabestad had borne the bad tidings to Republican workers throughout the state. This issue allowed Specter to win the primary by a 60,000-vote margin.

In the general election, Specter had the

good fortune of running against a Democrat who was also a two-time statewide loser — former Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty. Immensely popular in the western part of the state, Flaherty had suffered in the past from a tendency to run his statewide campaigns on his own, disdaining modern campaign organization and financing. In 1980, determined not to make the same mistake, he put more effort into building a statewide network.

It was not enough. Thornburgh and Heinz agreed to support Specter after the primary, and with their help, he was able to make some inroads on Flaherty's territory in western Pennsylvania. At the same time, Flaherty was unable to overcome the longstanding suspicion of him in the Philadelphia area. Specter carried Philadelphia by 14,000 votes and won immense margins in the more Republican Philadelphia suburbs, enough to offset Flaherty's showing at the western end of the state.

Specter's roots in Philadelphia politics reach back to the early 1960s, when he was an assistant district attorney making a name for himself among Democrats as a hard-working young reformer. After a stint with the Warren Commission, where he was the chief author of the theory that a single bullet had hit both Kennedy and Texas Gov. John Connally, he returned to conduct an investigation of Philadelphia's judicial system for the state attorney general.

Specter released his report, in which he called the system a "cesspool" of corruption, early in 1965, the same year he challenged his former boss, James Crumlish, for district attorney. When Crumlish was renominated by the Democrats, Specter decided to run as a Republican.

Running on the slogan, "A Return to Reform," Specter — or "Benedict Arlen," as Crumlish called him — campaigned almost as much against Democratic Mayor James Tate as he did against Crumlish. He defeated the incumbent by 36,000 votes, becoming the first Republican elected to citywide office in over a decade.

Two years later Specter was ready to take on Tate directly. The Democratic party had been split by feuds between machine regulars and reformers, and the mayor seemed in no shape to fight off a concerted GOP challenge. Specter and his "clean government" campaign were expected to romp through the election.

It did not work out that way. Tate, rejected by the organization, nonetheless won the Democratic nomination easily. Then, as riots were breaking out in other cities, Tate and his newly appointed police chief, Frank Rizzo, clamped a

**Arlen Specter, R-Pa.**

"limited emergency" on the city to prevent disturbances. Specter charged that the action would have been unnecessary if Tate had addressed the root causes of urban unrest — poverty and unemployment — but he could not prevent Tate from riding voters' gratitude to the narrowest victory in a mayoral election in 32 years.

By 1973, as he completed his second term in the district attorney's office, Specter was considered the favorite candidate in state GOP circles for the party's attempt to wrest the statehouse from Democrats the following year. But the speculation ended abruptly when he lost his campaign for a third term as district attorney that fall.

Specter announced he was going into private law practice, and for the first time in over a decade, his name left the front pages. It did not take long to resurface. In 1976 he entered the GOP primary to replace retiring Sen. Hugh Scott. The frontrunner in the contest was then Rep. Heinz, whose tremendous financial resources gave him a clear edge. But Heinz had been hurt by disclosures that he had received illegal contributions from the Gulf Oil Com-

pany, an issue Specter kept alive throughout the campaign. At the end of a bitter contest that kept relations between the two delicate for years, Heinz scraped past Specter by 28,000 votes out of almost 1 million cast.

In 1978, with Democrat Milton Shapp retiring as governor, Specter tried for that office. His chief rivals for the Republican nomination were former U.S. Attorney David Marston, who had been fired by the Carter administration earlier in the year, and Thornburgh, a former assistant attorney general in the Ford administration.

Although Marston was the best known of the three, he had no organization or funding; by contrast, Specter was able to round up strong financial and organizational backing from the Republican Party in the Philadelphia area. But Thornburgh, with equally strong support in the west, had that part of the state to himself, while Marston and Specter vied for votes in the east. Marston and a fourth candidate took enough votes from Specter in Philadelphia's suburban counties to help Thornburgh over the top, forcing Specter to wait two more years to realize his statewide ambitions.

**Committees****Appropriations (14th of 15 Republicans)**

District of Columbia (chairman); Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies; Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies.

**Judiciary (10th of 10 Republicans)**

Juvenile Justice (chairman); Administrative Practice and Procedure; Criminal Law.

**Veterans' Affairs (5th of 7 Republicans)****Elections****1980 General**

Arlen Specter (R)	2,230,404	(51%)
Peter Flaherty (D)	2,122,391	(48%)

**1980 Primary**

Arlen Specter (R)	419,372	(36%)
Bud Haabestad (R)	382,281	(33%)
Edward Howard (R)	148,200	(13%)
Norman Bertasavage (R)	52,408	(5%)
Others (R)	149,798	(13%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Specter (R)	\$1,499,384	\$305,426 (20%)	\$1,477,991
Flaherty (D)	\$635,062	\$117,187 (18%)	\$633,861

**Voting Studies**

	Presidential Support	Party Unity	Conservative Coalition
Year	S O	S O	S O
1982	55 44	50 49	40 59
1981	77 22	64 34	51 47

S = Support      O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	70	40	56	35
1981	50	38	58	72

*Nevada - Junior Senator***Chic Hecht (R)****Of Las Vegas — Elected 1982**

**Born:** Nov. 30, 1928, Cape Girardeau, Mo.  
**Education:** Washington U. (St. Louis), B.S. 1949.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1951-53.  
**Occupation:** Clothing store owner.  
**Family:** Wife, Gail Kahn; two children.  
**Religion:** Jewish.  
**Political Career:** Nev. Senate, 1967-75; defeated for re-election to Nev. Senate, 1974.  
**Capitol Office:** 297 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-6244.



**The Path to Washington:** Consistently underestimated by his opponents and by the media, Hecht won his Senate seat without ever having to elaborate on his one-note campaign score, which pledged strong support for President Ronald Reagan but took almost no substantive stands on issues.

Hecht's uncomplicated "stay the course" strategy proved well suited to Nevada, where Reagan won 63 percent of the vote in 1980 and was still very popular in the fall of 1982. Hecht defeated 24-year Senate veteran Howard W. Cannon, who lapsed into overconfidence after he turned back a vigorous Democratic primary challenge from Rep. James D. Santini.

Hecht is a "true believer" Republican who can boast he has been with Reagan since the president's early days as a national figure. At the 1968 GOP convention, Hecht preferred Reagan to Richard M. Nixon and Nelson A. Rockefeller. He was southern Nevada chairman for the 1976 Reagan campaign and Nevada deputy director in 1980. Reagan rewarded Hecht for his loyalty by campaigning twice in Nevada in 1982, first in early October and again five days before the election.

Even more instrumental to Hecht's success was the assistance he received from Nevada's senior senator, Republican Paul Laxalt. The Hecht-Laxalt connection dates to the late 1960s: Hecht served as minority leader in the state Senate in 1969 and 1970, Laxalt's last two years as Nevada governor. Hecht's election was part of a banner year for the Laxalt organization, which also sponsored the successful U.S. House candidacy of Laxalt aide Barbara Vucanovich in the newly created 2nd District.

Born Mayer Jacob Hecht, Hecht has been known since childhood as Chic, a nickname given him by an uncle. Following graduation from college in 1949, Hecht served in Europe as an Army counterintelligence agent. He wanted to be on the Intelligence Committee as a sena-

tor, but landed on Banking and Energy instead.

During nearly three decades in Nevada, Hecht became a wealthy and prominent businessman with holdings that center on two Las Vegas ladies' apparel stores. Hecht has served as president of the Retail Merchants of Las Vegas and as director of the city's Chamber of Commerce.

Hecht entered politics in 1966, winning election to the state Senate. His victory marked the first time in more than 25 years that a Republican had won a state Senate seat in predominantly Democratic Clark County (Las Vegas).

In the Legislature, Hecht worked with conservative rural Democrats from Nevada's "Cow Counties" to push some of Gov. Laxalt's programs through the Democratic-majority Senate. But he was not an initiator — he introduced fewer than 20 bills during his legislative career. Hecht won a second term in 1970 but was defeated for re-election in 1974.

Although Hecht began considering a bid for Cannon's U.S. Senate seat in 1981, he did not formally enter the Republican primary until late July, just before the filing deadline. By that time two other candidates had been campaigning for the GOP nomination for months, and it was thought that Hecht would have trouble overcoming his rivals' head start in organizing and fund raising.

But Hecht insisted that Nevadans were not enamored of long-running campaigns, and he put his effort on a firm financial footing by drawing on his personal resources. He spent some \$300,000 of his own money during the course of a campaign that cost more than \$900,000.

Hecht expanded on his Clark County support base by obtaining commitments from influential party activists and office-holders

*Chic Hecht, R-Nev.*

across the state whom he had befriended as a legislator and as an official in Reagan's campaigns. Calling attention to the fact that none of his Republican rivals had ever won elective office, Hecht took the nomination with nearly 40 percent of the vote.

Hecht's fast-closing nomination bid gave him important momentum for the November campaign. He also benefited from several factors that weakened Cannon. First, in the aftermath of the bitter Santini-Cannon nomination struggle, many Santini supporters, especially conservative Democrats, held a grudge against the senator. Second, Cannon was dogged throughout the year by the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). In the general election, NCPAC's television commercials meshed well with Hecht's themes that Cannon's voting record had been too liberal for Nevada.

Even more important, Cannon was tainted by the bribery trial of several Teamsters officials charged with conspiring to offer him a good price on union-controlled land in Las Vegas if he would block a trucking deregulation bill. Cannon did not take any bribe and was charged with no crime, but in the days before the election there was extensive media coverage of the trial, and some voters faulted Cannon for associating with unsavory characters.

Even worse for Cannon, he took a nonchalant attitude toward Hecht. The senator dismissed Hecht as an "invisible man" because of

the challenger's emphasis on pre-packaged media advertising, and he did not try to debate Hecht.

Favored incumbents normally do not debate their challengers, but Cannon should have done so. The senator performed well in debates with Santini, an articulate and experienced challenger, and would almost certainly have triumphed against Hecht, who has a halting style and a minor speech impediment. But he chose to leave Hecht's media ads all but unanswered during the crucial month of October. Meanwhile, Hecht filled the airwaves with spots that included endorsements from Reagan and Laxalt as well as man-on-the-street interviews with Santini backers planning to switch to the GOP.

As Election Day approached, Cannon sensed peril, but by then it was too late for him to shift the campaign dialogue; voters were thinking more about Cannon's voting record and ethics than about Hecht's personal qualifications to serve in the Senate.

Hecht sealed his victory in Cannon's home base of Clark County, where the incumbent needed a decisive margin to offset losses in Washoe County (Reno) and in the Cow Counties. Hecht's Las Vegas ties helped him poll a respectable 44 percent in Clark County, and the Republican took a 5,657-vote overall victory by winning comfortable margins in Washoe and in 14 of the state's other 15 counties.

### Committees

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (9th of 10 Republicans)  
Insurance (chairman); Economic Policy; Federal Credit Programs; Financial Institutions.

Energy and Natural Resources (9th of 11 Republicans)  
Energy and Mineral Resources; Public Lands and Reserved Water; Water and Power.

### Elections

<b>1982 General</b>		
Chic Hecht (R)	120,377	(50%)
Howard W. Cannon (D)	114,720	(48%)

### 1982 Primary

Chic Hecht (R)	26,840	(39%)
Rick Fore (R)	17,065	(25%)
Jack Kennedy (R)	12,191	(18%)
Sam Cevnar (R)	6,327	(9%)

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hecht (R)	\$1,022,870	\$235,602 (23%)	\$975,349
Cannon (D)	\$1,622,415	\$599,115 (37%)	\$1,547,402

## ... Likely to Take Active Role in Senate

Budget panel from 1977-82.

As chairman of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education since 1981, Simon has been a determined fighter against Reagan-era retrenchment in college student assistance.

He is generally a reliable backer of organized labor, but has broken ranks by endorsing a concept that is anathema to unions — lowering the minimum wage for teenagers. Simon plans to seek an assignment on the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee in the 99th Congress, so he can remain influential on the education and employment issues that have been his top legislative priorities since his first election to the House.

But Simon also will have a chance to broaden his horizons in the Senate, now that he has won the seat held by Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill. "The Senate is more suited to his temperament and style as a legislator," said a Simon aide. "He is a generalist *par excellence*."

Simon, a former journalist, served in the Illinois state Legislature for 14 years and was lieutenant governor of the state from 1969-73. His rise to the top of Illinois politics was stopped short, however, when he lost a bid for the governorship in the Democratic primary in 1972.

**JOHN F. KERRY, D-MASS., 40**, a first-term lieutenant governor who first came to public attention as head of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, brings to the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Paul E. Tsongas a strong interest in war and peace issues and the sort of Irish good looks and crowd appeal often likened to the Kennedys'.

The decorated veteran, who places top priority on issues such as the nuclear freeze and arms control, campaigned with the slogan, "Once you've seen war, you never stop fighting for peace." During his campaign for the Senate, Kerry criticized President Reagan's arms buildup, including the B-1 bomber and MX missile. He opposes covert aid to Central America and favors tying foreign aid to progress in human rights.

Observers speculate that Kerry may bid for Tsongas' seat on the Foreign Relations Committee.

Kerry, who prefers to be called an independent rather than liberal, backs the Equal Rights Amendment and criticized Reagan for the budget deficit and for his cuts in certain social programs. He is likely to carefully blend his emphasis on peace and social issues with an appeal to sound and fair economic policies, a mix that won him about 80 percent of the Democratic vote and half the independents'.

Kerry, of Boston, rose through Massachusetts politics as county prosecutor, candidate for the House in 1972, and lieutenant governor since 1983.



John F. Kerry



Jay Rockefeller

**MITCH McCONNELL JR., R-KY., 42**, scored the major upset of the Senate elections by defeating Democratic incumbent Walter D. Huddleston. During the campaign, he tied himself closely to Reagan, and he benefited from the president's big margin in Kentucky.

Since 1977, McConnell has served as county judge, or chief executive, of Jefferson County (Louisville), the most populous jurisdiction in Kentucky.

McConnell is the founder and chairman of the Kentucky Task Force on Exploited and Missing Children, and co-chairman of the National Child Tragedies Coalition. He made child abuse a major issue during his tenure as Jefferson County judge, and won statewide and national attention for spearheading an effort to stop child molestation and kidnapping. Kentucky's recently passed child abuse laws are among the toughest in the country.

McConnell was born in Sheffield, Ala., but attended high school in Louisville. He earned his B.A. from the University of Louisville, majoring in political science and graduating with honors in 1964. He received his law degree from the University of Kentucky in 1967.

He is a Reagan appointee to the advisory board of the National Institute of Justice. He served as an aide to Sen. Marlow Cook, R-Ky. (1968-74), and was a deputy assistant attorney general in the Ford administration before beginning his own political career.

**JOHN D. "JAY" ROCKEFELLER IV, D-W.VA., 47**, after two terms as governor assumes the Senate seat held by retiring Democrat Jennings Randolph.

Rockefeller won despite West Virginia's severe economic problems that give it the highest unemployment rate in the nation. During the campaign, he blamed those woes on external forces that have hurt the state's coal, steel and glass industries, and on Reagan's economic policies. He deflected criticism of his unpopular belt-tightening measures over the past four years with the campaign slogan: "Tough leadership for tough times."

In the Senate, Rockefeller is expected to concentrate at least initially on issues of concern to his West Virginia constituents — and especially on the development of a national energy policy based on coal.

Rockefeller's Senate campaign may wind up as expensive as his \$12 million gubernatorial bid in 1980. In both elections, his campaign bombarded households with direct-mail appeals and television commercials. To reach West Virginia viewers, Rockefeller had to buy TV time in the Pennsylvania and Maryland markets, which gave him more exposure in those states than most of their local politicians managed to achieve.

Rockefeller moved to West Virginia 20 years ago as a VISTA volunteer in the Action for Appalachia Youth program. In 1966 he was elected to the state Legislature, and in 1968 was elected secretary of state. He ran and lost for governor in 1972, but ran again and won in 1976. He was re-elected in 1980.

He is married to Sharon Percy Rockefeller, daughter of defeated Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., and has four children. He attended the International Christian University in Tokyo, Japan, from 1957-1960, and received his A.B. degree from Harvard University in 1961.



Mitch McConnell

## Election Results - 3

	Vote Total	Per- cent
<b>House</b>		
1 Lindsay Thomas (D)*	120,505	82
Erie Lee Downing (R)	27,018	18
2 Charles Hatcher (D)*	X	X
3 Richard Ray (D)*	106,422	81
Mitchell Cantu (R)	24,321	19
4 Elliott H. Levitas (D)*	106,336	47
Patrick L. Swindoll (R)	120,441	53
5 Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)*	X	X
6 Gerald Johnson (D)	52,046	31
Newt Gingrich (R)*	116,592	69
7 George "Buddy" Darden (D)*	101,814	55
William E. Bronson (R)	83,851	45
8 J. Roy Rowland (D)*	X	X
9 Ed Jenkins (D)*	102,777	67
Frank H. Cofer Jr. (R)	50,096	33
10 Doug Barnard Jr. (D)*	X	X

## HAWAII

<b>House</b>		
1 Cecil Heftel (D)*	113,978	83
Willard F. Beard (R)	20,376	15
Christopher Winter (LIBERT)	3,349	2
2 Daniel K. Akaka (D)*	112,086	82
A. D. Shipley (R)	19,908	15
Amelia Fritts (LIBERT)	4,354	3

## IDAHO

<b>Senate</b>		
Peter M. Busch (D)	105,487	26
James A. McClure (R)*	293,416	72
Donald B. Billings (LIBERT)	7,366	2
<b>House</b>		
1 Bill Hellar (D)	63,567	31
Larry E. Craig (R)*	139,021	69
2 Richard Stallings (D) ●	101,099	50
George Hansen (R)*	101,032	50

## ILLINOIS

<b>Senate</b>		
Paul Simon (D)	2,334,580	50
Charles H. Percy (R)*	2,273,043	49
Marjorie H. Pries (CIT)	—	—
Ishmael Flory (COM)	—	—
Steven I. Givot (LIBERT)	58,120	1
Nelson Gonzalez (SOC WORK)	—	—
<b>House</b>		
1 Charles A. Hayes (D)*	X	X
Eddie L. Warren (SOC WORK)	—	—
2 Gus Savage (D)*	140,307	82
Dale F. Harman (R)	30,870	18
3 Marty Russo (D)*	140,046	64
Richard D. Murphy (R)	78,060	36
4 Dennis E. Marlow (D)	68,435	36
George M. O'Brien (R)*	121,325	64
5 William O. Lipinski (D)*	104,373	63
John M. Paczkowski (R)	60,588	37
6 Robert H. Renshaw (D)	51,922	25
Henry J. Hyde (R)*	156,523	75
7 Cardiss Collins (D)*	130,177	78
James L. Bevel (R)	36,699	22
8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)*	110,945	71
Spiro F. Georgeson (R)	44,895	29
9 Sidney R. Yates (D)*	138,013	67
Herbert Sohn (R)	66,812	33
10 Ruth C. Braver (D)	56,908	28
John Edward Porter (R)*	149,997	72
11 Frank Annunzio (D)*	135,015	63

	Vote Total	Per- cent
Charles J. Theusch (R)	80,820	37
12 Edward J. LaFlamme (D)	45,285	22
Philip M. Crane (R)*	158,853	78
13 Michael J. Donohue (D)	76,951	33
Harris W. Fawell (R)	156,639	67
14 Dan McGrath (D)	81,768	38
John E. Grotberg (R)	133,584	62
15 John M. Hoffman (D)	50,459	27
Edward R. Madigan (R)*	135,780	73
16 Carl R. Schwerdtfeger (D)	90,673	42
Lynn Martin (R)*	127,239	58
17 Lane Evans (D)*	128,266	57
Kenneth G. McMillan (R)	98,065	43
18 Gerald A. Bradley (D)	86,839	39
Robert H. Michel (R)*	135,938	61
19 Terry L. Bruce (D)	118,185	52
Daniel B. Crane (R)*	108,304	48
20 Dick Durbin (D)*	145,088	61
Richard G. Austin (R)	91,820	39
21 Melvin Price (D)*	123,584	69
Robert H. Gaffner (R)	54,773	31
22 Kenneth J. Gray (D) ●	116,948	50
Randy Patchett (R)	115,710	50

## INDIANA

<b>Governor</b>		
W. Wayne Townsend (D)	994,966	48
Robert D. Orr (R)*	1,097,879	52
Rockland Snyder (AM)	—	—
James A. Ridenour (LIBERT)	6,745	0
<b>House</b>		
1 Peter J. Visclosky (D)	147,035	71
Joseph B. Grenchik (R)	59,986	29
James E. Willis (LIBERT)	943	0
2 Philip R. Sharp (D)*	118,426	54
Ken MacKenzie (R)	102,236	46
Cecil Bohanon (LIBERT)	625	0
3 Michael P. Barnes (D)	102,312	47
John Hiler (R)*	113,898	53
Robert A. Lutton (LIBERT)	645	0
4 Michael H. Barnard (D)	79,660	39
Dan Coats (R)*	124,692	61
John B. Cameron Jr. (AM)	—	—
Joseph F. Laiacoma (LIBERT)	467	0
5 Allen B. Maxwell (D)	66,486	32
Elwood Hillis (R)*	142,878	68
David E. Osterfeld (LIBERT)	1,151	0
6 Howard O. Campbell (D)	64,806	28
Dan L. Burton (R)*	165,026	71
Linda Dilk (LIBERT)	1,255	1
7 Arthur E. Smith (D)	52,555	30
John T. Myers (R)*	117,899	68
Barbara L. J. Bourland (LIBERT)	2,441	2
8 Frank McCloskey (D)* ●	116,843	50
Richard D. McIntyre (R)	116,770	50
Michael J. Fallahay (LIBERT)	759	0
9 Lee H. Hamilton (D)*	139,216	65
Floyd E. Coates (R)	74,261	35
Douglas S. Boggs (LIBERT)	673	0
10 Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D)*	110,836	59
Joseph P. Watkins (R)	75,780	41
Bradford L. Warren (LIBERT)	889	0

## IOWA

<b>Senate</b>		
Tom Harkin (D)	713,286	56
Roger W. Jepsen (R)*	559,176	44
Garry DeYoung (I)	—	—

	Vote Total	Per- cent
<b>House</b>		
1 Kevin Ready (D)	64,224	33
Jim Leach (R)*	131,101	67
2 Joe Welsh (D)	76,930	36
Tom Tauke (R)*	136,364	64
3 Joe Johnston (D)	84,950	40
Cooper Evans (R)*	130,081	60
4 Neal Smith (D)*	136,500	61
Robert R. Lockard (R)	87,985	39
5 Jerome D. Fitzgerald (D)	101,087	49
Jim Ross Lightfoot (R)	104,247	51
6 Berkley Bedell (D)*	128,689	62
Darrel Rensink (R)	77,839	38

## KANSAS

<b>Senate</b>		
James R. Maher (D)	206,187	22
Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)*	735,080	77
Marian Ruck Jackson (AM)	—	—
Lucille Bieder (C)	—	—
Douglas N. Merritt (LIBERT)	6,815	1
Freda H. Steele (P)	—	—
<b>House</b>		
1 Darrell Ringer (D)	47,689	24
Pat Roberts (R)*	154,567	76
Clement N. Scoggin (P)	—	—
2 Jim Slattery (D)*	107,903	61
Jim Van Slyke (R)	68,440	39
Kenneth C. Peterson Sr. (P)	—	—
3 John E. Reardon (D)	84,838	42
Jan Meyers (R)	116,060	58
John S. Ralph Jr. (I)	—	—
4 Dan Glickman (D)*	138,619	75
William V. Krause (R)	47,355	25
5 John A. Barnes (D)	46,229	26
Bob Whittaker (R)*	133,728	74
Veal A. Bacon (P)	—	—

## KENTUCKY

<b>Senate</b>		
Walter D. Huddleston (D)*	635,441	50
Mitch McConnell (R)	638,816	50
Dave Walters (SOC WORK)	7,427	0
<b>House</b>		
1 Carroll Hubbard Jr. (D)*	X	X
2 William H. Natcher (D)*	91,500	62
Timothy A. Morrison (R)	56,056	38
3 Romano L. Mazzoli (D)*	143,931	58
Suzanne M. Warner (R)	67,409	32
Peggy Kreiner (SOC WORK)	1,260	0
4 William P. Mulloy II (D)	92,043	47
Gene Snyder (R)*	102,608	53
5 Sherman W. McIntosh (D)	40,015	24
Harold Rogers (R)*	124,478	76
6 Jerry Hammond (D)	47,339	27
Larry J. Hopkins (R)*	125,972	72
Tony Suruda (LIBERT)	953	1
7 Carl C. Perkins (D)	122,072	74
Aubrey Russell (R)	43,612	26

## LOUISIANA

<b>Senate</b>		
J. Bennett Johnston (D)*	X	X
<b>House</b>		
1 Bob Livingston (R)*	X	X
2 Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs (D)*	X	X
3 W. J. "Billy" Tauzin (D)*	X	X

*Vermont - Junior Senator*

## Patrick J. Leahy (D)

**Of Burlington — Elected 1974**

**Born:** March 31, 1940, Montpelier, Vt.

**Education:** St. Michael's College, B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1964.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Marcelle Pomerleau; three children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Chittenden County state's attorney, 1967-75.

**Capitol Office:** 433A Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4242.



**In Washington:** Smart, affable and unpretentious, Leahy has not only the affection of Senate colleagues but their respect as well. An Irish Catholic with some of the plain-spoken qualities of a Vermont Yankee, he has survived nearly a decade of Senate life without picking up a trace of the self-importance that is the chamber's occupational disease.

The homespun quality that helps Leahy politically in Vermont also is helpful on the Senate floor. During one debate on an appropriation for home heating aid for the Northeast, Leahy was able to speak from experience: He had been home that weekend putting the storm windows on his house.

But Leahy is no hick. While he works hard to defend Vermont's dairy farmers, his interests are global — he spent much of the 97th Congress resisting President Reagan's policies on issues from arms control and foreign military aid to government secrecy and nutrition.

Leahy started fighting with the administration over agricultural issues almost as soon as Reagan was inaugurated. He strongly opposed the new administration's request for a cancellation in the scheduled increase in dairy prices, and led the fight against confirmation of John B. Crowell Jr. to be assistant secretary of agriculture. He complained about Crowell's involvement with a timber company whose subsidiary had been held liable for price fixing.

Crowell was confirmed overwhelmingly, but Leahy did have some success on the Agriculture Committee holding off efforts to make severe cuts in the food stamp program. Working closely with Nutrition Subcommittee Chairman Bob Dole of Kansas, he came up with a series of moderate reductions in food stamp spending that headed off a more draconian package of cuts sponsored by full committee Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

Leahy followed a similar bipartisan approach on the Judiciary Committee, joining

with Republican Paul Laxalt of Nevada in pushing a bill to reform the federal government's regulatory process. After lengthy negotiations, the two Judiciary Committee members came up with a compromise bill that passed the Senate unanimously. It would have imposed cost-benefit analysis on new federal rules and given Congress more say in their approval. "After all the years of people talking about making government work better, we've actually sat down and done something that will," Leahy said. But the bill never passed the House.

Leahy agreed to another Judiciary Committee compromise, this time with Republican Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, on the Freedom of Information Act. Although the landmark anti-secrecy law is a subject close to Leahy's heart — "it is sometimes difficult for me to remember that it is only a statute and not a part of the Constitution," he says — he helped work out a proposal to provide new protections against release of data relating to criminal investigations. But Leahy swore he would filibuster the bill if any further weakening of the law was approved on the Senate floor. As it turned out, the measure never reached the floor.

And in a departure from the usual rules of senatorial courtesy, Leahy joined with Hatch in persuading the Judiciary Committee that ethical indiscretions and a lack of experience disqualified a Democratic colleague's former campaign manager from serving as a federal judge. It was the first time in 42 years that the committee had rejected a judicial nominee.

Leahy refused to go along with Hatch and other Republicans on a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. An outspoken opponent of the idea, Leahy offered four unsuccessful floor amendments that would have suspended the balanced budget requirement in times of high unemployment. Noting

*Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.*

that the proposal allowed a budget waiver in times of war, Leahy said the Senate votes meant it was easier to send Americans to war than to work. The constitutional change passed the Senate but died in the House.

Leahy's seat on the Select Intelligence Committee brought further occasions for conflict with the Reagan administration. A long-time opponent of the administration's policy in El Salvador, Leahy went to Central America early in 1983. Without saying so directly, he implied that the trip had convinced him that the administration was violating the law by providing aid to anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua. Leahy also has been one of the strongest proponents in the Senate of a nuclear weapons freeze.

After a two-year stint on Armed Services at the beginning of his Senate career, Leahy went to Appropriations, where he has served since 1977. That move proved to be a mixed blessing; as the most junior member eligible to chair a subcommittee, he had to spend four years heading the panel responsible for the District of Columbia's budget — a job with virtually no political benefit.

Despite his distaste for the job and his underlying belief in home rule for the District of Columbia on budget matters, Leahy was far from reticent about scrutinizing District spending requests and fighting those he considered unjustified.

He called the city's proposed new convention center a "taxpayer rip-off," infuriating D.C. Mayor Marion Barry, who called Leahy "that rinky-dink senator from the state nobody's ever heard of." Leahy had jerseys printed up for his softball team that read "Rinky Dink Senator from Vermont."

Although he eventually approved the convention center project, Leahy remained skeptical of its backers' plans even after he gave up the District subcommittee chair. He offered an amendment in 1982 to bar the center from sponsoring sporting events or concerts for profit, but it was defeated 40-54.

The Appropriations Committee also provides Leahy with a vantage point from which to attack enforcement of anti-pollution laws by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). A member of the subcommittee that has jurisdiction over the EPA budget, Leahy has been one of the most outspoken critics of the agency under Reagan, saying it has been unwilling or

unable to carry out the environmental laws passed by Congress.

**At Home:** Leahy has survived in Vermont by emphasizing his roots in the state rather than his roots in the Democratic Party. Campaigning for a second term in 1980 against the national Republican tide, he fought off a New York-born GOP challenger with a carefully designed slogan: "Pat Leahy: Of Vermont, For Vermont."

It took that slogan and all the other ingenuity Leahy could summon to overcome the challenge from Stewart Ledbetter, former state banking and insurance commissioner. When the centrist Ledbetter won a primary victory over a more strident Republican, Leahy was placed in instant jeopardy. With financial help from national Republican groups, Ledbetter sought to convince voters that the incumbent was "out of touch with the thinking people of our state."

Ledbetter said Leahy was a free-spender and weak on defense. Leahy responded by explaining in detail why he opposed the B-1 bomber and citing cases in which he had supported the Pentagon.

It was well after midnight before the result became clear, but the last trickle of ballots gave Leahy re-election by less than 3,000 votes, preserving his record of uninterrupted success as a Democrat in a Republican state.

Leahy started that record in Burlington, the state's one major Democratic stronghold, by winning election as Chittenden County state's attorney at age 26. He revamped the office and headed a national task force of district attorneys probing the 1973-74 energy crisis.

So when he decided in 1974 to run for the Senate seat being vacated by Republican George D. Aiken, he had a solid base in Chittenden County to build on. At 34, Leahy was still a little young to replace an 82-year-old institution in a tradition-minded state, but he was already balding and graying, and looked older than he was.

Leahy was an underdog in 1974 against U.S. Rep. Richard W. Mallary, who was widely viewed as heir-apparent and promised to vote in the Aiken tradition. But Mallary turned out to be a rather awkward campaigner, and Watergate had made Vermont more receptive to the heresy of voting Democratic than it had been in modern times.

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

**Committees**

**Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry** (2nd of 8 Democrats)  
Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices (ranking); Nutrition; Rural Development, Oversight and Investigations.

**Appropriations** (11th of 14 Democrats)  
District of Columbia (ranking); Foreign Operations; HUD - Independent Agencies; Interior and Related Agencies.

**Judiciary** (6th of 8 Democrats)  
Security and Terrorism (ranking); Constitution; Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks.

**Select Intelligence** (6th of 7 Democrats)  
Legislation and the Rights of Americans (vice chairman); Budget.

**Elections****1980 General**

Patrick Leahy (D) 104,176 (50%)  
Stewart Ledbetter (R) 101,421 (49%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1974 (50%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Leahy (D)	\$525,547	\$213,760 (41%)	\$434,644
Ledbetter (R)	\$535,064	\$132,040 (25%)	\$532,904

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	37	62	91	9	12	88
1981	34	60	76	8	4	84
1980	64	22	72	16	13	75
1979	76	18	80	15	16	77
1978	87	10	90	7	13	84
1977	77	18	74	15	18	75
1976	36	51	91	5	7	89
1975	43	52	91	2	3	87

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	19	92	45
1981	95	5	89	6
1980	83	16	83	43
1979	89	19	79	9
1978	65	21	79	24
1977	80	15	80	17
1976	85	8	85	0
1975	72	19	90	25

*Texas - Junior Senator*

## Lloyd Bentsen (D)

**Of Houston — Elected 1970**

**Born:** Feb. 11, 1921, Mission, Texas.

**Education:** U. of Texas, LL.B. 1942.

**Military Career:** Army Air Corps, 1942-45.

**Occupation:** Lawyer; financial executive.

**Family:** Wife, Beryl Ann "B. A." Longino; three children.

**Religion:** Presbyterian.

**Political Career:** Hidalgo County Judge, 1946-48; U.S. House, 1948-55.

**Capitol Office:** 703 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-5922.



**In Washington:** There is a gray quality about Bentsen, and it comes not only from the elegant suits he wears and the silver in his hair, but from his record — midway between the poles on nearly any important issue — and his temperament. He is not a dour or cheerless man, but he strikes people as aloof and rather formal. Bentsen is not the kind of senator seen naturally slapping another on the back or trading funny stories. One would not pick him out of a crowd as a Texan.

Bentsen is all business. And he has devoted much of his career in the Senate to promoting American business and trying to bring it back from the doldrums. When he ran for president in 1976, campaigning smoothly but not very successfully, it was on a platform of economic revival through personal tax cuts and reductions in the tax on capital gains. Within five years, the basics of his proposals had become law. It took a Republican president to do it, but Bentsen had helped pave the way.

In the 96th Congress, as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee (JEC), Bentsen was a tireless spokesman for his view that the answers to inflation are private investment and economic growth, and that these can come through tax cuts. Both in 1979 and 1980 Bentsen was able to forge a consensus on the JEC in support of his "economics of hope" — a consensus that encompassed such divergent political views as those of Sens. Edward M. Kennedy and George McGovern on the left and those of Sen. James A. McClure of Idaho and Rep. John H. Rousselot of California on the right.

Even before President Reagan took over, Bentsen was able to sell some of his supply-side ideas to the tax-writing Finance Committee. In the summer of 1980 Bentsen was instrumental in formulating a \$39-billion tax cut package that the committee approved, but the Democratic leadership refused to bring to the floor.

Bentsen's biggest contribution to that bill was language providing for accelerated depreciation, which would allow businesses to write off the cost of purchasing new factories, machinery and equipment more quickly than under then-existing law. Many of those ideas were incorporated by the Reagan administration in the 1981 tax bill, although some were repealed a year later.

While Bentsen has concentrated on the "big picture" economic issues, he has continued to fight on the Finance Committee for the Texas oil industry and, in particular, for the independent producers.

During the debate in 1979 and 1980 over a windfall profits tax on the oil industry, Bentsen's first priority was a full exemption for the smaller independent producers. That passed the Senate, but did not end up in the final law. Still, Bentsen and his allies did manage to keep the tax on smaller producers lower than the basic rate, and later in 1980 they pushed through a partial refund on the tax for royalty holders — individuals who own land on which oil wells are located and who receive some of the profit from the wells. Further relief came in the 1981 tax bill.

Earlier in his Senate career, Bentsen made repeated efforts to deregulate the price of natural gas. He managed to get a deregulation amendment through the Senate in 1975, on a 50-41 vote, but that language never passed the House. In 1977 he persuaded the Senate to add gas deregulation to President Carter's energy package, but the House did not include it, and when a conference committee compromised on gradual deregulation over seven years, Bentsen voted against the conference report.

Bentsen is also deeply involved in trade issues, many of which come under the purview of the Finance Committee. Soon after Congress convened in 1981, he introduced legislation

*Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas*

with Missouri Republican John C. Danforth to limit the number of Japanese cars allowed to enter the United States.

Bentsen and Danforth later dropped their bill after the Japanese agreed to voluntary restraints. But trade continues to preoccupy Bentsen; he has said it "is going to be the most important issue we face." As ranking Democrat on the International Trade Subcommittee at Finance and co-chairman of the Senate Export Caucus, Bentsen thinks that U.S. exporters, particularly farmers, are victimized by unfair trading practices of other countries. He has backed Danforth's "reciprocity" bill expanding the president's authority to retaliate against such practices.

Pointing to the predicted future shortage of skilled workers, Bentsen also has pushed for new federal policies to stimulate training and retraining of workers for high-technology jobs in computers, robotics and similar fields. Without a renewed commitment to skill training, he warns, the United States will be forced to leave to other nations "the expanding work of the future, and rest content with yesterday's receding work." He favors legislation to provide increased federal tax credits and deductions for companies that make grants to universities for hiring of science faculty, donate scientific equipment to schools or put their workers through skill training programs.

Bentsen plays a less prominent role on the Environment and Public Works Committee. He had a chance for the chairmanship of the important Environmental Pollution Subcommittee, vacated in 1980 when Edmund S. Muskie left to become secretary of state, but did not try for it.

Until 1981, however, Bentsen was chairman of the Environment and Public Works Subcommittee on Transportation. In that capacity, he worked on the complex formulas that govern distribution of money from the highway trust fund. In the early 1970s, he allied himself with highway users against attempts to break off trust fund money for mass transit. But he voted for the 1982 gas tax bill, which diverted trust funds for mass transit, after working to ensure that money was available for Houston and other cities with new systems.

After raising more than \$4 million for his own campaign in 1982, Bentsen was the choice of Senate Democrats to head their campaign fund-raising machinery for the 1984 election. He was named as chairman of both the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Senate Democratic Leadership Circle, which seeks money from wealthy contributors.

**At Home:** Bentsen is part of the Texas

Democratic establishment that included Lyndon B. Johnson and John B. Connally, but his route into it was unique. He was elected to Congress at 27 from a rural district in South Texas, retired after three terms, moved to Houston to make a fortune in insurance, and then re-emerged in politics 15 years later as a conservative Democratic candidate for the Senate.

The Bentsen family, which is of Danish stock, has been among the conservative gentry of the lower Rio Grande Valley for most of this century. The senator's father, Lloyd Sr., was known as "Big Lloyd" around their hometown of McAllen, where he became a millionaire landowner and gave his son a lift into local politics.

Returning home from World War II, in which he had flown bombers over Europe, the younger Bentsen was elected judge in Hidalgo County at age 25. In 1948, taking advantage of family money and connections among the small group of Anglo Democrats that controlled politics in his heavily Hispanic South Texas district, he became the youngest member of the U.S. House.

As a representative, Bentsen pleased Texas conservatives with his hard-line anti-communism. In 1950 he advocated ending the Korean War by using the atomic bomb. He represented a one-party district and was politically secure; after his first primary, he faced no opposition at all.

But by 1954, the House did not seem as attractive to Bentsen as a career in the upper echelons of the Houston business community. He retired from Congress at the age of 33 and became president of Lincoln Consolidated, a holding company. By the time Bentsen was ready for politics again in 1970, he was a millionaire.

Bentsen ran on the Democratic right in 1970 as primary challenger to veteran Sen. Ralph Yarborough, the East Texas populist who had been an enemy to the conservative wing of the party for years.

Bentsen ran against both Yarborough and the national Democratic Party. When Democratic Sens. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Harold Hughes of Iowa came to Texas to campaign for Yarborough, Bentsen labeled them "ultraliberal" outsiders. He ran television commercials linking Yarborough to violent anti-war protests and said the senator's vote against the Supreme Court nomination of G. Harrold Carswell showed he was anti-Southern.

Yarborough punched back by attacking Bentsen and his allies as "fat cats" and "reactionaries." Emphasizing his role in passing

*Texas - Junior Senator*

Great Society legislation, Yarborough campaigned hard to put together his old populist coalition of blacks, Hispanics, union members and rural East Texans. It was not enough to stop Bentsen, who won with almost 100,000 votes to spare.

After the primary, Bentsen moved to the center against GOP nominee George Bush, then a Houston representative. The Bush-Bentsen campaign, a battle between a Houston insurance millionaire and a Houston oil millionaire, was gentle by comparison to the primary. There was little to argue about.

In the end, that helped Bentsen. He continued to promote the conservative image he had fostered in the spring, but campaigned against President Nixon's economic policies in the hope of winning back as many Yarborough supporters as possible. Texas was still unquestionably a Democratic state in 1970 and, given a choice between two conservatives, a majority of voters preferred the Democrat.

When Bentsen won, Nixon tried to claim the outcome as a "philosophical victory" for the Republican administration. But things did not work out that way. Over the next few years, Bentsen sought to moderate his image, looking toward a presidential campaign in 1976. Some of that moderation, such as his vote in favor of common-site picketing in 1975, outraged his more conservative 1970 supporters.

The result was a Democratic primary challenge in 1976 from Texas A&M economist Phil Gramm, now an influential member of the House. Gramm accused Bentsen of abandoning his conservative heritage in a vain bid for national office. Bentsen retained the loyalty of the party establishment and beat Gramm by more than 2-to-1, but the challenger drew over 400,000 votes.

Meanwhile, Bentsen was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, calling himself a "Harry Truman Democrat" and hoping to establish a base of support in an early Southern primary. It was a waste of effort. The combined

opposition of Jimmy Carter and George C. Wallace limited Bentsen to only six delegates in his own home state, and Bentsen quickly dropped out of national politics to concentrate on his fall campaign against Republican Rep. Alan Steelman.

That campaign turned out to be easy. Steelman reversed Gramm's strategy, hoping to woo Yarborough liberals by calling Bentsen the captive of special interests. But Steelman ended up without a firm base in his own party, and he never had the money to compete with Bentsen on an equal footing. Bentsen had a mailing list of 700,000 names and an organization in each of the state's counties. He defeated Steelman easily.

In 1982 Bentsen brushed aside Republican Rep. James M. Collins, who crusaded tirelessly across Texas trying to convince voters to unseat "Liberal Lloyd."

Collins had difficulty providing specifics to document his portrayal of Bentsen as a liberal. He faulted the senator's votes to increase the national debt and to approve the Panama Canal treaties, but those examples won Collins few converts from the Democratic party.

Bentsen paid little attention to Collins. When he did he told voters they were being offered a choice between "effectiveness and incompetence." He criticized Collins for not passing a single piece of legislation during his 14 years as occupant of a safe House seat in Dallas. To counter negative advertising by Collins and the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Bentsen talked about unemployment, Social Security and other issues on which the Republican party was vulnerable.

Collins did put together a well-organized campaign network that mobilized the hard-core conservative vote. He won 41 percent, but Bentsen's 1.8 million votes led the statewide ticket to a smashing victory as the party captured the governorship, retained all its U.S. House seats and picked up all three newly created districts.

**Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas****Committees**

**Environment and Public Works** (2nd of 7 Democrats)  
Transportation (ranking); Regional and Community Development; Water Resources.

**Finance** (2nd of 9 Democrats)  
International Trade (ranking); Energy and Agricultural Taxation; Taxation and Debt Management.

**Select Intelligence** (7th of 7 Democrats)  
Analysis and Production; Budget.

**Joint Economic**  
Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy (vice chairman); Agriculture and Transportation.

**Joint Taxation**

1981	70	24	55	42	83	11
1980	73	19	57	26	56	27
1979	66	27	63	29	63	26
1978	60	28	51	39	70	22
1977	63	32	41	49	78	15
1976	32	30	37	42	64	15
1975	57	25	49	36	58	27
1974 (Ford)	18	43				
1974	53	28	48	32	43	38
1973	44	47	59	35	57	36
1972	57	35	55	38	56	34
1971	61	37	57	36	73	18

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Elections****1982 General**

Lloyd Bentsen (D) 1,818,223 (59%)  
James Collins (R) 1,256,759 (41%)

**1982 Primary**

Lloyd Bentsen (D) 987,985 (78%)  
Joe Sullivan (D) 276,453 (22%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (57%) 1970 (54%)

1952\* (100%) 1950\* (100%) 1948† (100%)

\* House elections.

† Elected in a special election and a full House election the same day.

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Bentsen (D)	\$4,477,970	\$814,257 (18%)		\$4,907,320
Collins (R)	\$4,318,817	\$127,599 (3%)		\$4,112,914

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support	Party Unity	Conservative Coalition
1982	8 0	8 0	8 0
	61 33	54 41	88 10

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	40	65	75	70	
1981	25	57	39	71	
1980	39	43	41	59	
1979	26	38	47	45	67
1978	35	57	26	83	
1977	30	48	60	59	
1976	15	47	40	25	
1975	39	38	59	50	
1974	38	41	45	50	
1973	55	41	64	44	
1972	35	45	30	25	
1971	33	33	55	-	

Georgia - Senior Senator

## Sam Nunn (D)

Of Perry — Elected 1972

**Born:** Sept. 8, 1938, Perry, Ga.  
**Education:** Emory U., A.B. 1960, LL.B. 1962.  
**Military Career:** Coast Guard, 1959-60; Coast Guard Reserve, 1960-68.  
**Occupation:** Farmer; lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Colleen Ann O'Brien; two children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Ga. House, 1969-72.  
**Capitol Office:** 335 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-3521.



In Washington: If Nunn's legislative specialty were labor issues or the environment, he might have been forced into an outsider's role in 1981 when his party lost the White House and the Senate. But as a military specialist at a time of massive defense buildup, he really never had to worry. Because few in either party have his knowledge or his credibility, all sides in the defense debate feel they need him. Nunn does not have to be in the majority to be a major force in military policy.

He began calling for major increases in defense spending long before Ronald Reagan took office; in 1979 he was in the vanguard of those who demanded and got a commitment from Jimmy Carter for substantially increased military expenditures over the next five years. Since 1981 he has supported much of President Reagan's proposed buildup. But he has staked out his own positions on such key issues as NATO policy and the draft.

Early in the Reagan administration, Nunn warned the Pentagon to be realistic in estimating the cost of new defense proposals — or risk a loss of public support. "What is going to happen to the consensus built on defense when, six or eight months from now, this budget goes straight up?" Nunn asked Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger at the start of the 97th Congress. The next two years made Nunn's warning prophetic.

Nunn's interests range over the whole of defense policy, but he avoids the scattershot approach. He chooses his targets carefully, picking a few key issues to concentrate on. He is always well-prepared with facts to back up an amendment or statement.

During his first term in the Senate, Nunn focused most of his attention on military manpower issues. He remains the most forceful and persistent critic of the volunteer Army and lobbyist for a return to the draft. He would revamp conscription procedures to eliminate

past inequities, but he insists that the current Army could not win a war. "Present military manpower problems are so severe," Nunn said in 1979, "that our armed forces would not be capable of meeting a national security emergency that required a rapid, major increase in present force levels."

In more recent years, Nunn has turned to larger questions of strategy and sought to look at defense questions in a long-term perspective. "We're in for a long, long tedious relationship with the Soviet Union," he warned after a trip to Moscow. He was one of the first in Congress to urge the sale of military-related items to the People's Republic of China, arguing that "a China strong enough to resist Soviet expansion and domination is in the interest of the United States."

Nunn worries about the manner in which NATO forces might respond to an attack by the Warsaw Pact nations. His main argument is that NATO has put too much emphasis on the early use of nuclear weapons to deter a Soviet bloc attack.

"The 'conventional horse' must be in front of the 'nuclear cart,'" Nunn says. He favors an expansion of NATO conventional forces so that they could counter an invasion without using nuclear arms.

In the area of strategic weapons, Nunn has criticized the Reagan administration pace in arms limitation talks as too slow, and has questioned plans for development of the MX missile. His most original contribution on the subject, however, has been in warning of the danger of an accidental nuclear war.

If terrorists or an unstable leader of a foreign country acquired a bomb, Nunn says, the result could easily be a war neither superpower wanted. To reduce that threat, Nunn backs creation of a joint U.S.-Soviet control

**Sam Nunn, D-Ga.**

center to monitor crises.

The future holds out titular authority for Nunn as well as influence — chances are good that he will be chairman of the Armed Services Committee at some point in the future. If he does take over the committee, he will be continuing a Georgia Democratic tradition — he is the grandnephew of Carl Vinson, longtime chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and he occupies the Senate seat once held by the revered Richard Russell, who chaired Senate Armed Services.

Nunn did not leave the matter of committee assignments to chance when he came to Washington. He teamed up with his great-uncle Vinson, who by then had retired, and visited all the major Senate power brokers, starting with then-Armed Services Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss. Nunn got the Armed Services assignment he wanted, and he also made a favorable impression on Stennis and Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., another senior committee member. Both men helped Nunn along over the years.

Nunn inherited some of his great-uncle's skill at bringing defense dollars home to Georgia. He waged a bruising 1982 battle against Jackson over whether to use some of the money currently allocated for C-5 transport planes, built in Georgia, to buy Boeing 747s, built in Washington. Jackson's personal lobbying gained an initial victory on the Senate floor, but Nunn won in the end, preserving job-creating contracts for his constituents.

On non-defense issues, Nunn's dominant concern has been in fighting organized crime. As ranking Democrat on the Governmental Affairs Committee's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Nunn has focused on uncovering corruption and mob ties among union leaders.

Nunn's investigations led directly to two bills in the 97th Congress — one to crack down on criminal abuse of the workers' compensation program for longshoremen, the other to increase penalties for union officials found guilty of corruption. Both bills passed the Senate easily, but died in the House.

Nunn votes with Senate conservatives on most issues; among Democrats, only Stennis voted on Reagan's side more often than he did in 1982. But his support was not automatic — he voted for emergency help for the housing industry, opposed by the president, and to override a Reagan veto of the 1982 supplemental appropriations bill.

At Home: Nunn was an ideal candidate in 1972 against David H. Gambrell, the wealthy and urbane Atlanta lawyer whom Gov. Jimmy

Carter named to the Senate after Russell's death.

Nunn was a lawyer and state legislator himself, and not exactly poor, but his central Georgia roots allowed him to run as an old-fashioned rural Democrat, related to Carl Vinson and allied with the rest of the state in its suspicion of Atlanta. He called Gambrell a "fake conservative" who backed Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic presidential nominee, and pursued the issue despite Gambrell's denials of any link to McGovern.

Gambrell finished first in the initial primary, but he was forced into a runoff with second-place finisher Nunn, who intensified his attacks on the incumbent, all but saying Gambrell's wealthy family had bought the seat by contributing to Carter's gubernatorial campaign. It was more than enough to sink Gambrell.

The focus shifted in the general election, when Nunn encountered Republican Rep. Fletcher Thompson. This time, it was Thompson who used the McGovern issue.

But Nunn countered the attack by his adroit use of George C. Wallace, the governor in neighboring Alabama, who maintained high popularity in rural Georgia. Nunn journeyed to Montgomery, the Alabama capital, to receive Wallace's blessing. He said he would write in the governor's name for president.

Despite his vehement opposition to busing and "welfare loafers," Nunn also got the support of black leaders, including state Rep. Julian Bond. They figured that Nunn represented a better choice for blacks than Thompson, who they claimed had not spoken to a black audience in four years — even though 40 percent of his Atlanta district was non-white.

Further big-name help for Nunn came from Democratic Sen. Herman Talmadge, at the time an institution in state politics. Fearful that McGovern's unpopularity would tip the Senate to the Republicans and that he would lose his Agriculture Committee chairmanship, Talmadge broke his practice of campaigning only for himself and provided critical support for Nunn in rural areas.

Meanwhile, Thompson was discovered to be mailing his House newsletter statewide at taxpayer expense, arousing press complaints that he had abused the frank as part of his campaign. As a result of this flap, President Nixon omitted a public endorsement of Thompson on an Atlanta visit — an embarrassing incident for the Republican.

Nunn ran extremely well against Thompson in the rural counties, offsetting his opponent's strength in the Atlanta suburbs, and

**Georgia - Senior Senator**

defeated him by 83,000 votes.

Six years later, Nunn's fiscal conservatism and support for the military had put him in such good position that no serious challenger emerged. The luckless Republican who did take on Nunn, former U.S. Attorney John Stokes,

made no headway condemning Nunn's vote for the Panama Canal treaties. Stokes had little money and ran a near-invisible campaign. Nunn's 83 percent was the highest vote any Senate candidate in the country received that fall against a major party opponent.

**Committees**

Small Business (Ranking)

Small Business: Family Farm (ranking)

Armed Services (3rd of 8 Democrats)

Sea Power and Force Projection (ranking); Manpower and Personnel; Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces.

Governmental Affairs (4th of 8 Democrats)

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (ranking); Intergovernmental Relations.

**Elections**

1978 General

Sam Nunn (D) 536,320 (83%)  
John Stokes (R) 108,808 (17%)

1978 Primary

Sam Nunn (D) 525,703 (80%)  
Jack Dorsey (D) 71,223 (11%)  
Other (D) 60,361 (9%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1972 (54%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1978			
Nunn (D)	\$708,417	\$135,145 (19%)	\$548,814

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support	Party Unity	Conservative Coalition
1982	70 29	57 41	82 16

Year	59	31	59	39	84	15
1981	72	20	52	45	91	8
1980	66	25	62	31	72	22
1979	52	46	36	60	83	13
1977	73	25	41	52	80	14
1976	64	36	49	48	75	23
1975	70	27	40	59	91	9
1974 (Ferd)	62	35				
1974	65	35	35	63	87	10
1973	56	40	46	51	85	13

S = Support

O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	45	65	64	67	
1981	35	71	32	72	
1980	56	54	26	58	
1979	11	40	32	55	67
1978	25	67	26	78	
1977	20	64	37	82	
1976	20	62	60	33	
1975	11	68	27	69	
1974	14	78	36	80	
1973	30	66	40	78	

*Missouri - Senior Senator*

## Thomas F. Eagleton (D)

**Of St. Louis — Elected 1968**

**Born:** Sept. 4, 1929, St. Louis, Mo.

**Education:** Amherst College, B.A. 1950; Harvard U., LL.B. 1953.

**Military Career:** Navy, 1948-49.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Barbara Ann Smith; two children.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** St. Louis circuit attorney, 1956-60; Mo. attorney general, 1961-65; Mo. lt. gov., 1965-69; Democratic nominee for vice president, 1972 (withdrew before election).

**Capitol Office:** 107 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-5721.



In Washington: The 1980 election cost Eagleton as much as it cost anyone in the Senate. After years of work on some of the more tedious tasks of Senate life, he stood ready to take over the chairmanship of the Governmental Affairs Committee — a job he had long been awaiting. The Republican victory that fall not only denied him the chairmanship but brought a change in his career and his attitude toward it.

At times during the 97th Congress, the fire in Eagleton seemed to have gone out — he sometimes looked like a man going through the motions. At other times, however, the old intensity was reawakened, and he could be highly effective at getting his point across in the Senate.

When Eagleton gets worked up over issues, his personality still makes him a force to be reckoned with. A gravelly voiced chain smoker who complains about his own "addiction" to cigarettes, Eagleton led a personal campaign against tobacco price supports in 1982 that came within two votes of killing the program on the Senate floor.

"Tobacco, for the most wacko of reasons, is the most favored commodity," he said. "We do unto tobacco, we genuflect unto tobacco."

Eagleton is not a man of classic oratorical skills, but he is one of the most effective senators in floor debate. He is blunt and forceful, and he knows how to frame a difficult issue in a few words for maximum effect.

During the 1982 Senate trial of New Jersey Democrat Harrison A. Williams Jr., accused of accepting a bribe in the Abscam affair, Eagleton's dramatic speech was the emotional turning point of the debate. Eagleton called for the expulsion of his longtime liberal ally. "We should not perpetrate our own disgrace by

asking him to remain," Eagleton said, effectively killing any chance that the Senate would inflict the milder penalty of censure.

Another subject that drew Eagleton's attention in 1982 involved one of his career-long causes, self-government for the District of Columbia. One of the authors of District home-rule legislation, Eagleton spent six years in the politically unrewarding chairmanship of the Senate District Committee before it was abolished in 1977.

Eagleton was incensed by a 1982 provision that sought to bar the newly constructed D.C. Convention Center from booking sports events or concerts. He denounced the provision as a "dictatorial" intrusion in District affairs, one that was designed to protect "the greed of Mr. Abe Pollin," owner of the nearby Capital Center arena. The Senate agreed to drop the provision.

Over a long Senate career Eagleton has often been willing to change his mind on an issue if the facts seem to demand it. He has a habit of digging into a subject and coming out some distance from where he entered. He voted against direct election of the president in 1979, even though he had supported a version of it in 1970. He gradually dropped his support of "sunset" legislation to force periodic review of government programs, saying the measure he himself had cosponsored "ought to go bye-bye permanently."

He drafted much of the original Senate war powers bill but voted against the final version of the landmark act in 1973. He had concluded that the 30-day deadline given to a president to ask for a declaration of war amounted to a license to make war on his own within that time.

As a member of the Labor and Appropria-

*Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo.*

tions committees in addition to Governmental Affairs, Eagleton played a significant role in much of the social legislation of the past decade. He was largely responsible for establishment of the National Institute on Aging and for the expansion of the services available to the elderly under the Older Americans Act.

He has been a strong union supporter on most Labor Committee issues, but has split with the unions on occasion. He opposed the Lockheed loan guarantee and the supersonic transport plane, both of which labor supported. But he went to bat for the Chrysler loan guarantee in 1979, and, on such "litmus test" issues as the ill-fated common-site picketing and labor law revision measures of the late 1970s, Eagleton voted the AFL-CIO position.

On several emotional social issues, he has voted conservatively in recent years, neutralizing some potential opposition in Missouri. He has always been against busing and is militantly opposed to abortion. He attracted attention and won some friends on the right with his long-running libertarian opposition to mandatory seat belts in automobiles.

Eagleton consistently opposed U.S. involvement in Indochina and was the sponsor of the successful 1973 appropriations amendment cutting off funds for the bombing of Cambodia. He was the chief Senate advocate of the 1974 Turkish arms embargo, imposed after Turkey used American-supplied weapons in its invasion of Cyprus, and continues to oppose resumption of arms sales to Turkey. Eagleton opposed the volunteer Army, fearing that only the poor would serve in the absence of conscription. In 1980 he voted against resumption of male-only draft registration although he supported an unsuccessful proposal to register both men and women.

For years, however, all of Eagleton's arguments and votes were obscured by the traumatic period in which he was dropped as Sen. George McGovern's vice presidential running mate, only a few days after he admitted that he had undergone psychiatric treatment and been hospitalized three times in the 1960s for depression.

After first declaring he was "1,000 percent" behind Eagleton and would have chosen him even had he known of his mental health history, McGovern did an about-face and forced Eagleton from the ticket.

Although Eagleton subsequently campaigned vigorously for McGovern and his second running mate, R. Sargent Shriver, the episode left permanently bruised feelings on both sides. McGovern never quite forgave Eagleton for failing to mention his health history

prior to his selection for the national ticket; Eagleton, convinced that the storm of public controversy could have been weathered, resented McGovern's withdrawal of support.

It has never been clear precisely how much the Eagleton affair contributed to McGovern's overwhelming defeat in November. Eagleton insisted it was no more than "one rock in the landslide." McGovern felt otherwise.

At Home: When Eagleton made his first Senate campaign in 1968, he was carrying a reputation as Missouri's liberal "boy wonder." Three years out of law school he had been elected circuit attorney in St. Louis. Four years later he became state attorney general, and he celebrated his 35th birthday in 1964 by winning election as lieutenant governor with nearly 65 percent of the vote.

By 1968, the logical move was for the Senate, even though it required running against an incumbent Democrat, Edward V. Long. The incumbent was saddled with allegations that he had improperly received fees from a St. Louis attorney while in office and charges that he had doctored specifications for a St. Louis housing project to benefit a local union that had contributed to his campaign. He was also a supporter of the Johnson administration and its Vietnam War policy. Eagleton's themes were consistently liberal: he opposed the bombing of North Vietnam, recommended cutting the defense budget and called for more federal aid to cities.

The primary was close, but Eagleton took it by 26,000 votes and went on to the general election campaign against Republican Rep. Thomas B. Curtis, an influential veteran of the House Ways and Means Committee. Eagleton criticized him for voting against the 1968 Civil Rights Act and Medicare and renewed his call for an end to the bombing. Both candidates were St. Louis-based, but Eagleton had the natural Democratic advantage in outlying parts of the state, and he campaigned more effectively there than the urbane, bow-tied tax lawyer he was running against.

Eagleton's misfortune as McGovern's temporary running mate in 1972 created strong sympathy for him in his home state. When he came up for re-election in 1974, the focus was not on any of his policy positions, but on his candor and personal courage and on the way a Missourian had been treated in national politics. Curtis was again the Republican nominee, but at 63 and three terms out of Congress, he was not a serious threat. Eagleton won the rematch by more than a quarter-million votes.

Eagleton's 1980 Republican opponent, St. Louis County Executive Gene McNary, began

**Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo.**

with little recognition outside his home base, but launched a statewide media campaign with money from business and conservative groups. Meanwhile, Eagleton's campaign was bothered by publicity over an extortion attempt made by his niece, Elizabeth Weigand, and her attorney. They threatened to release information damaging to him unless he bowed to her wishes in a stock control dispute in the family business, Missouri Pipe Fittings Co. Weigand and her attorney were convicted of extortion on Oct. 25, shortly before the election. No "damaging information" was ever substantiated.

McNary faulted Eagleton's support for the Panama Canal treaties and the SALT II accord and promised to stop federal encroachment on local governments. Eagleton pointed often to the highways and other public works projects his Appropriations Committee seniority had helped bring the state.

Eagleton's move toward the political center had been helpful. Ronald Reagan carried Missouri, and the GOP took the governorship and two previously Democratic congressional seats. But while McNary received nearly 48 percent of the vote, Eagleton prevailed.

**Committees**

**Governmental Affairs (Ranking)**  
Governmental Efficiency and the District of Columbia (ranking).  
**Appropriations (6th of 14 Democrats)**  
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies (ranking);  
Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary and Related Agencies;  
Defense; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education; Transportation and Related Agencies.  
**Labor and Human Resources (4th of 8 Democrats)**  
Aging (ranking); Education, Arts and the Humanities; Family and Human Services; Handicapped.

**Select Ethics (3rd of 3 Democrats)**

**Elections**

**1980 General**  
Thomas Eagleton (D) 1,074,859 (52%)  
Gene McNary (R) 985,339 (48%)  
**1980 Primary**  
Thomas Eagleton (D) 553,392 (86%)  
Lee Sutton (D) 53,280 (8%)  
Herb Fillmore (D) 38,677 (6%)  
**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1974 (60%) 1968 (51%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Eagleton (D)	\$1,272,272	\$409,284 (32%)	\$1,390,560
McNary (R)	\$1,180,342	\$207,893 (18%)	\$1,173,161

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	29	68	91	7	12	87
1981	33	63	85	9	10	86
1980	56	28	65	13	24	52

Year	73	12	74	12	30	54
1978	76	13	82	10	20	69
1977	82	13	72	19	39	55
1976	36	51	85	8	13	78
1975	47	40	82	9	16	75
1974 (Ford)	24	60				
1974	36	55	74	13	17	69
1973	33	58	89	3	7	83
1972	28	59	79	5	8	72
1971	41	49	78	6	18	63
1970	43	45	76	5	6	77
1969	47	38	82	10	17	72

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	85	10	92	19	
1981	90	14	94	0	
1980	78	8	89	39	
1979	58	19	93	0	29
1978	50	9	79	35	
1977	60	15	80	35	
1976	60	8	88	0	
1975	72	4	85	19	
1974	71	18	89	25	
1973	90	8	80	0	
1972	70	21	90	0	
1971	89	24	67	-	
1970	91	4	100	0	
1969	94	0	100	-	

*South Carolina - Junior Senator*

## Ernest F. Hollings (D)

**Of Charleston — Elected 1986**

**Born:** Jan. 1, 1922, Charleston, S.C.  
**Education:** The Citadel, B.A. 1942; U. of S.C., LL.B. 1947.

**Military Career:** Army, 1942-45.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Rita Louise Liddy; four children.

**Religion:** Lutheran.

**Political Career:** S.C. House, 1949-55; S.C. Lt. gov., 1955-59; gov., 1959-63; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 1962.

**Capitol Office:** 125 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-6121.



In Washington: Hollings is a military school product who prides himself on realism and discipline — and in recent years he has focused that approach on economic problems. As a senior member of the Budget Committee, he has sounded the same call to national sacrifice that has marked his campaign for the 1984 presidential nomination.

Hollings insists that everyone in society — from generals in the Pentagon to Social Security recipients — must agree to give up something if the federal budget is ever to be balanced and the economy repaired. He has advocated a freeze on domestic and military spending levels that would not spare any of the major beneficiaries of federal money.

Few in the Senate challenge the intellectual rigor of Hollings' approach or the sincerity behind it. His ideas, particularly the proposal for a spending freeze, have significantly influenced the budget debates of the 1980s.

Sometimes, however, Hollings' style is a hindrance. He is supremely confident of the rightness of his economic views, and it shows. Candid to the point of occasional rudeness, he is openly scornful of colleagues who are reluctant to make the political decisions implicit in his program. Colleagues who disagree with his brand of sacrifice run the risk of being labeled not only mistaken but muddle-headed and soft.

Handsome, graceful and perfectly tailored, Hollings is a symbol of Southern breeding and education. He looks every inch the president he aspires to become; with his booming voice and rich Tidewater accent, he is an impressive, almost overwhelming presence in committee or on the Senate floor.

He has a sharp tongue, and little hesitation about using it in public. It can cause trouble, however; during a 1981 debate on his effort to

stop the Justice Department from trying to block voluntary school prayer, he described Ohio Democrat Howard M. Metzenbaum as "the senator from B'nai B'rith." "I am the senator from Ohio," responded Metzenbaum, who is Jewish. "I was not throwing off on his religion," Hollings apologized. "I said it only in fun." But the memory of the incident lingered.

Hollings' strengths and weaknesses as a national leader were evident during his three years as the senior Democrat on the Budget Committee. He became chairman of the panel in 1980 after Edmund S. Muskie resigned to become Secretary of State, and he served as ranking Democrat during the 97th Congress.

During his brief tenure as chairman, Hollings promoted and moved through the Senate a 1981 budget resolution drawn up to be in balance — the first such achievement in the history of the budget process. While recession eventually forced a deficit of \$50 billion, Hollings remained proud of the effort and sensitive to mention of its failure.

After moving into the minority, however, Hollings did not expend much effort trying to arrive at a unified Democratic response to President Reagan's budget. He seemed more interested in putting forth his own ideas than in establishing a consensus in his party.

The crux of Hollings' budget plan is that the federal government simply stop, for a time, doing the things that contributed to its massive deficits. He would eliminate scheduled tax cuts, halt automatic benefit increases to individuals and slow the growth in Pentagon spending.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of that plan, given Hollings' background, was its 3 percent annual limit on the inflation-adjusted growth of defense spending. During the 1970s, Hollings was known as a vigorous backer of more dollars for the Defense Department and a

*Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.*

sharp critic of arms limitation treaties with the Soviet Union. He has emerged, however, as a leading critic of the Reagan defense buildup.

The B-1 bomber and the MX missile are two of Hollings' special targets. He offered an amendment in 1981 to eliminate funds for the B-1, which he said would be outmoded by 1990. That amendment was defeated 28-66, but his 1982 effort against the MX missile came within four votes, 50-46, of blocking funding until Congress approved a design for its installation. Then he helped work out an agreement with the House that essentially killed the "dense pack" basing system the administration suggested for the MX.

Hollings chose to give up his ranking seat on the Budget Committee at the beginning of the 98th Congress, opting instead to become the leading Democrat on Commerce. He had seemed frustrated by his role as a member of the minority on budget, and the committee's interminable debates and markup sessions would have made a full-scale presidential campaign difficult for its ranking Democrat. Hollings had not played a particularly prominent role on the Commerce Committee before 1983, taking a back seat with the rest of the Democrats to former chairman Howard W. Cannon of Nevada. His most outspoken position was against deregulation proposals for industries such as trucking and railroads. Part of his opposition was due to South Carolina's experience with airline deregulation, which sharply cut the number of flights into the state.

In the 96th Congress, as chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Communications, Hollings set out on an unsuccessful effort to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934. He introduced a bill to substitute market competition for federal regulation of many aspects of the telephone, telegraph and cable TV industries, insisting that monopolies and federal regulation were ideas of the past, and "competition and diversity" were "ideas of the future."

Hollings has threaded his way carefully through civil rights issues during his long career. Although associated in earlier years with President Kennedy, Hollings voted against some major civil rights legislation as a junior senator during Lyndon Johnson's presidency. He opposed the 1968 open housing bill, but backed an unsuccessful attempt in 1980 to strengthen it. He has consistently supported the 1965 Voting Rights Act and its extensions.

He drew support in civil rights circles in 1969 when he made a tour of rural areas of his state, said he had found hunger and poverty to a degree he had never realized existed, and came out for free food stamps for the neediest.

He was active in the Senate on nutrition issues in the years after that. More recently he has talked about abuses in the food stamp program, but he still votes for money to support it.

Hollings long had aspirations to the Senate leadership. When former Majority Leader Mike Mansfield announced his retirement in 1976, Hollings announced his candidacy immediately. He later dropped out of the race, however, to give Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota a "clear shot" against West Virginian Robert C. Byrd. Humphrey eventually withdrew, and Byrd won by acclamation.

**At Home:** Hollings built his political career in South Carolina at a time of emotional argument about racial issues. He succeeded in combining old-time rhetoric with a tangible record of moderation.

As a candidate in the late 1950s, he firmly espoused states' rights and condemned school integration. In his inaugural speech as governor in 1959, Hollings criticized President Eisenhower for commanding a "marching army, this time not against Berlin, but against Little Rock." But as chief executive of the state, he quietly integrated the public schools.

In fact, despite grumblings about his rhetoric, blacks provided Hollings' margin of victory in 1966, when he won his Senate seat against a more conservative Republican opponent. Since then, he never has faced a credible candidate to his left, and blacks have generally supported him.

During the Depression, the Hollings family paper business went bankrupt, so an uncle had to borrow money to send him to The Citadel, where he received an Army commission. Hollings returned home from World War II for law school and a legal career. That soon led to politics.

As a young state legislator, he attracted notice with his plan to solve the problem of inferior black schools without integration. He said a special sales tax should be imposed to upgrade the black schools.

Hollings twice won unanimous election to the state House speakership and in 1954 moved up to lieutenant governor. In 1958, Democratic Gov. George B. Timmerman was ineligible to succeed himself. Hollings won a heated three-way race for the nomination, defeating Donald S. Russell, former University of South Carolina president and a protégé of ex-Gov. James F. Byrnes. The primary turned on political alliances and geography. Hollings' base lay in Tidewater and Russell's in Piedmont.

As governor, Hollings worked hard to strengthen his state's educational system, establishing a commission on higher education.

**Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.**

In 1960 he campaigned for John F. Kennedy, who carried South Carolina.

Barred from seeking a second gubernatorial term in 1962, he challenged Democratic Sen. Olin D. Johnston. Portraying himself as "a young man on the go," Hollings attacked Johnston's endorsement by the state AFL-CIO and charged that "foreign labor boases" were seeking to control the state. Hollings failed to draw much more than a third of the vote.

The senator died in 1965, however, and Donald Russell — by then governor — had himself appointed to the seat. That provided

an issue for Hollings' comeback in 1966. He ousted Russell in the special primary to finish Johnston's term.

The 1966 election year was not an ordinary one in South Carolina. The national Democratic Party was unpopular, and Republican state Sen. Marshall Parker seized on Hollings' connections to it in an effort to defeat him. He nearly made it, but Hollings matched his conservative rhetoric and survived by 11,758 votes.

Running for a full term two years later, Hollings had little trouble turning back Parker. Since then, he has rolled over weak opponents.

**Committees**

Commerce, Science and Transportation (Ranking)  
Communications (ranking); National Ocean Policy Study (ranking).

Appropriations (5th of 14 Democrats)  
Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary and Related Agencies (ranking); Defense; Energy and Water Development; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies; Legislative Branch.

Budget (2nd of 10 Democrats)

**Elections****1960 General**

Ernest Hollings (D)	612,554	(70%)
Marshall Mays (R)	257,946	(30%)

**1966 Primary**

Ernest Hollings (D)	266,796	(81%)
Nettie Dickerson (D)	34,720	(11%)
William Kreni (D)	27,049	(8%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1974 (70%) 1968 (62%)

1966\* (51%)

\* Special election.

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Hollings (D)	\$810,270	\$249,515 (31%)	\$723,427
Mays (R)	\$66,322	\$5,200 (8%)	\$66,044

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	43	45	73	20	55	36
1981	54	38	58	35	67	30
1980	63	28	55	33	64	23

1979	57	37	62	31	75	20
1978	66	23	61	33	58	35
1977	66	31	65	29	40	64
1976	49	40	65	29	40	65
1975	48	45	61	32	56	36
1974 (Ford)	43	50				
1974	45	39	42	41	56	24
1973	43	49	63	29	53	39
1972	57	35	61	31	46	45
1971	43	29	53	35	63	28
1970	59	35	52	31	50	33
1969	38	32	51	35	68	17
1968	24	37	41	24	47	14
1967	54	35	47	37	61	13

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	?

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	55	50	74	53
1981	55	29	58	35
1980	39	43	22	62
1979	32	35	41	30
1978	30	52	39	59
1977	30	52	56	61
1976	40	28	80	25
1975	44	33	42	27
1974	24	60	50	75
1973	45	44	60	67
1972	25	40	40	20
1971	44	39	75	-
1970	22	5	50	71
1969	22	55	33	-
1968	14	56	75	-
1967	8	65	17	50

New Jersey - Senior Senator

## Bill Bradley (D)

Of Denville — Elected 1978

**Born:** July 28, 1943, Crystal City, Mo.  
**Education:** Princeton U., A.B. 1965; Oxford U., England, M.A. 1968.  
**Military Career:** Air Force Reserve, 1967-78.  
**Occupation:** Basketball player.  
**Family:** Wife, Ernestine Schlant; one child.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 253 Dirksen Bldg. 20510; 224-3224.



In Washington: Bill Bradley was no showman during his 10 years with the New York Knicks, and he has not been one in the Senate, where his limited speaking ability has led him to concentrate most of his effort behind the scenes. But he is diligent, professional, and sensitive to the civilities of Senate life, and he has earned considerable respect.

That respect has been joined by increasing influence and added responsibilities: Bradley's Democratic colleagues have begun turning to him to fulfill important party duties — heading a task force on economics, or responding on television to President Reagan.

Bradley is one of the best known of the "neo-liberals" who are trying to shift the Democratic Party away from traditional New Deal dogma. Like the others in that amorphous group, he is a prodigious source of new ideas — most notably a modified version of a "flat-rate" income tax. If there is a stereotype that celebrity politicians are more style than substance, Bradley is evidence against it: With his rumpled suits and tousled hair, he looks more like a harried professor than the media superstar he was at Princeton and in New York.

Bradley's work on the Finance Committee is the main source of his growing reputation. Even with the burden of his monotone speaking style, he is widely seen as one of the most forceful and able critics of the Reagan administration's economic policies.

Bradley fought the supply-side tax program from the beginning. He was the only member of the Finance Committee to vote against the 1981 tax cut, which he called "inflationary and inequitable." He tried without success to focus the tax reductions on less wealthy families and to make the third year of the cut contingent on progress in reducing the deficit. "Basically what you did is give too much away," he later told administration officials.

But Bradley made sure that, if goodies

were being distributed, New Jersey was not left out. With New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, he inserted into the bill a "rent-a-bus" provision that allowed big tax breaks to go indirectly to mass transit companies such as the New Jersey Transit Corporation.

On one important Finance Committee issue, tax credits for private school tuition, Bradley was more sympathetic to Reagan. He agreed with the basic idea of tuition tax credits, but almost managed to kill the administration's tuition tax credit bill before it could get out of committee.

Arguing that the bill as proposed by the administration could provide indirect tax benefits to segregated schools, Bradley proposed adding tough new civil rights protections. He had the votes to do so in the Finance Committee, but at the risk of alienating the bill's "Christian conservative" backers. Bradley eventually accepted a compromise proposed by Finance Chairman Robert Dole; the bill was reported from committee but never made it to the Senate floor in 1982.

Although he favors tuition tax credits, Bradley's long-range tax program would eliminate all but a few of the myriad deductions and credits of the current tax system. Along with Missouri Democratic Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, he proposes restructuring the system to impose a single tax rate on low- and middle-income taxpayers. Wealthier families would pay a higher rate, but one still below current levels. Lost revenues to the Treasury would be made up by cutting out all tax breaks other than home mortgage interest deductions and a few others.

Bradley is less influential on Energy and Natural Resources, his other major committee. He is well-known as a petroleum specialist, but his strong pro-conservation sentiments have

**Bill Bradley, D-N.J.**

not been embraced by a majority of the panel's members. Bradley has worked hardest at trying to get the Reagan administration to hasten the filling of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

While he criticizes the administration on its strategic reserve policy, Bradley joined Reagan in opposing important oil legislation in the 97th Congress. In fighting against an emergency allocation bill giving the president control over oil supplies in a crisis, Bradley found himself in an unusual alliance with conservative Oklahoma Republican Don Nickles; both argued that the free market should be allowed to allocate supplies through higher prices. The bill passed but Reagan vetoed it.

**At Home:** Bradley was looking ahead to politics during most of the 10 years he spent playing forward for the New York Knicks. During the off-season, he spoke at Democratic Party gatherings, worked as a reading teacher in Harlem and spent a summer doing administrative work in the federal Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

His interest in politics came early, nurtured by his Republican banker father in Crystal City, Mo., and by his days at Princeton, where he wrote his senior thesis on Harry S. Truman's 1940 Senate campaign.

There was talk that Bradley would return to Missouri to seek office, but marriage to a New Jersey college professor and years of television exposure in the New York metropolitan area convinced him to run in the Garden State. To finance his 1978 Senate bid, he relied on some of his own wealth, then valued at nearly \$1.6 million, and on fund-raising events by such prominent friends as singer Paul Simon and actor Robert Redford.

With superior name recognition, Princeton and Oxford degrees and a clean-cut reputation, he scored an easy Democratic primary victory over Gov. Brendan T. Byrne's candidate, former state Treasurer Richard C. Leone.

Bradley drew as his general election opponent Jeffrey Bell, a former campaign aide to Ronald Reagan. Bell had ousted four-term Sen. Clifford P. Case in the Republican primary, and his campaign had split the GOP badly. Without the liberal Case on the general election ballot, labor and minorities felt free to go with Bradley, who proved remarkably wooden as a campaigner but won comfortably nevertheless.

Bradley retains a celebrity appeal that has kept his popularity intact. He periodically stands up for New Jersey when it is ridiculed for its crime, pollution and tackiness.

**Committees**

Energy and Natural Resources (9th of 9 Democrats)  
Energy and Mineral Resources; Energy Conservation and Supply; Energy Regulation.

Finance (7th of 9 Democrats)  
Energy and Agricultural Taxation (ranking); Health; International Trade.

Special Aging (5th of 7 Democrats)

**Elections**

<b>1978 General</b>		
Bill Bradley (D)	1,082,960	(55%)
Jeffrey Bell (R)	844,200	(43%)
<b>1978 Primary</b>		
Bill Bradley (D)	217,502	(59%)
Richard Leone (D)	97,667	(26%)
Alexander Menzies (D)	32,386	(9%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1978</b>				
Bradley (D)	\$1,689,975	\$192,896 (11%)		\$1,688,499
Bell (R)	\$1,432,924	\$166,263 (12%)		\$1,418,931

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	37	63	87	13	14	85
1981	44	48	80	10	11	77
1980	65	23	72	12	6	75
1979	88	10	87	9	11	85

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	100	24	85	29	
1981	90	20	82	13	
1980	72	0	100	38	
1979	68	4	95	0	25

## David L. Boren (D)

**Of Seminole — Elected 1978**

**Born:** April 21, 1941, Washington, D.C.

**Education:** Yale U., B.A. 1963; Oxford U., England, M.A. 1965; U. of Okla., J.D. 1968.

**Military Career:** National Guard, 1968-75.

**Occupation:** Lawyer; government professor.

**Family:** Wife, Molly Wanda Shi; two children.

**Religion:** Methodist.

**Political Career:** Okla. House, 1967-75; Okla. governor, 1975-79.

**Capitol Office:** 452 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4721.

Oklahoma - Senior Senator



**In Washington:** After working closely with Republicans during President Reagan's first year in office, Boren has returned to the Democratic mainstream. He was once considered a prime candidate for conversion by GOP leaders, but he now plays an important role in helping Senate Democrats write their party's economic policy.

Boren will be particularly influential on the Finance Committee if Democrats regain control of the Senate in 1984. A conservative with a populist's antagonism to much of the financial community, he knows how to fight for the oil industry without alienating his party's Northern majority in the Senate. Liberals tend to like him, even if they disagree with him, allowing him to flirt with Reaganomics in the 97th Congress and still not forfeit his standing as a Democrat of some respect.

Pale and pudgy, Boren does not look on first glance to be a power broker or even a politician. Oklahoma political cartoonists used to draw him as the Pillsbury Doughboy. But he knows the system and how to operate within it.

"The appearance of having influence develops rapidly," Boren once said, "and so can the appearance of not having influence." From his first days in the Senate, when he got Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long to find him a seat on the tax-writing panel, he has worked to develop that influence for the benefit of his state's oilmen and farmers.

The course of Boren's career almost took a sharp turn in 1981, when he emerged as one of Reagan's most ardent Democratic backers. He helped save the administration from a budget assault led by one of its own, Republican John Chafee of Rhode Island, who wanted to restore nearly a billion dollars for urban programs.

The vice president phoned him personally, seeking help, worrying that Republican senators backing Chafee would tip the GOP's pre-

carious Senate balance away from Reagan. Just before the vote, Bush called again to make certain Boren and fellow conservative Democrats would vote with Reagan. They did. Some 17 Democrats voted with 42 Republicans to beat Chafee handily, even though 11 Republicans defected.

Several days later, Boren announced formation of a 12-member conservative Democratic group to pursue budget cutting and other issues on which the group's members might feel closer to Republicans than Democrats. His support for the president was rewarded: the successful Reagan-backed version of the 1981 tax cut included two of Boren's pet ideas — easing the terms of the oil windfall profits tax and ending the inheritance tax between spouses.

But interest in the conservative group soon declined, and Boren drifted away from close support of the administration. Early in 1982 he helped draft a letter to Reagan outlining Democratic alternatives. The letter stressed deferral of the scheduled 1983 tax cut and reductions in the Pentagon budget.

Boren was unable to muster majority Democratic support, however, for one of his favorite economic solutions — a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. He was a leading sponsor of the proposal, which passed the Senate in 1982, and backed a key amendment to freeze the national debt.

Much of Boren's effort on the Agriculture Committee is devoted to bemoaning the state of the farm economy, which he says is "virtually in a depression." He sponsored two significant amendments to help farmers that were adopted by the Senate in 1982. One extended an emergency loan program and allowed deferral of loan payments for those in difficult financial situations. Another, added to the budget reconciliation bill, established a new pro-

**David L. Boren, D-Okla.**

gram of cash payments to farmers for not growing wheat, corn and feed grains.

After nearly a full term in the Senate, Boren has become increasingly outspoken in criticism of its procedures, which he sees as leading the institution into paralysis and decline. He believes individuals in the Senate have too much power to frustrate the majority.

To solve those problems, Boren has proposed setting up an Emergency Joint Committee for Congressional Reform. He argues that such a commission should consider major changes in Senate rules, especially those that allow senators to propose amendments unrelated to the bill being considered on the floor. "To preserve Congress," Boren had said, "we must reform it."

**At Home:** Boren has come a long way quickly in politics by knowing how to promote the right issue at the right time.

Few Oklahoma Democrats took him seriously in 1974, when, as a four-term state legislator, he decided to run for governor. A Rhodes Scholar and political science professor, he had been neither influential nor popular among insiders in the Oklahoma House. But he had a reputation as a reformer, and he exploited it skillfully at a time of scandal not only in

Washington but in Oklahoma City, where Democratic Gov. David Hall was under investigation on corruption charges that were later to send him to prison.

He campaigned with a broom, promising to sweep out corruption at the state capitol and supporting financial disclosure and open government. He edged into a spot in the primary runoff, took it easily, and won a smashing victory in November.

As governor, Boren changed focus, drawing national attention as a spokesman for his state's oil producers. When he chose to run for the Senate in 1978, he was in a perfect position to seek votes and campaign support as an oil industry loyalist, and he was the favorite throughout the year. He led a seven-man primary field and went on to defeat former U.S. Rep. Ed Edmondson in a runoff.

The primary took a bizarre turn when, after a minor candidate accused the governor of being a homosexual, Boren swore on a Bible that it was not true. The accuser was discredited, and Boren suffered no lasting damage.

Boren's gubernatorial record brought him far more business support than most Democrats can expect in Oklahoma, and he had no trouble against his 1978 Republican opponent.

**Committees**

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (6th of 8 Democrats)  
Agricultural Research and General Legislation (ranking); Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification; Foreign Agricultural Policy.

Finance (6th of 9 Democrats)  
Estate and Gift Taxation; International Trade; Social Security and Income Maintenance Programs.

Small Business (9th of 9 Democrats)  
Entrepreneurship and Special Problems Facing Small Business.

**Elections****1978 General**

David L. Boren (D)	493,953	(66%)
Robert Kamm (R)	247,857	(33%)

**1978 Primary Runoff**

David L. Boren (D)	281,587	(60%)
Ed Edmondson (D)	184,175	(40%)

**1978 Primary**

David L. Boren (D)	252,560	(46%)
Ed Edmondson (D)	155,626	(28%)
Gene Stipe (D)	114,423	(21%)

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1978</b>			
Boren (D)	\$779,544	\$800 (0.1%)	\$751,286
Kamm (R)	\$444,734	\$31,664 (7 %)	\$443,712

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	60	38	52	42	87	10
1981	60	35	54	40	86	10
1980	53	45	46	49	76	18
1979	47	47	33	59	81	10

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	45	67	50	65	
1981	30	76	32	71	
1980	28	52	37	71	
1979	16	70	26	82	88

Kansas - Senior Senator

## Robert Dole (R)

Of Russell — Elected 1968

**Born:** July 22, 1923, Russell, Kan.  
**Education:** Washburn U., A.B. 1952, LL.B. 1952.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1943-48.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Mary Elizabeth Hanford; one child.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Kan. House, 1951-53; Russell County attorney, 1953-61; U.S. House, 1961-69; Republican nominee for vice president, 1976.  
**Capitol Office:** 141 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-6521.



**In Washington:** Dole's public image has undergone a remarkable transformation in the last few years. The "hatchet man" of the early 1970s has become a "statesman." The liberal critics who once viewed him as a small-minded partisan now look to him as a pragmatic voice of reason in budget and tax policy.

The 97th Congress may not have solved the nation's economic problems, but for Bob Dole it was an unvarnished legislative triumph. He used his position as chairman of the Finance Committee to promote President Reagan's tax cut in 1981 and to craft the tax increase that modified it in 1982. He and a handful of other senior Republicans virtually rewrote the 1982 Reagan budget. Meanwhile, Dole was playing a key role on such diverse issues as voting rights, food stamps and Social Security.

Dole turned out to be a superb negotiator whose power came largely from his ability to find compromises where others were deadlocked. "You don't try to cram things down people's throats," he said at one point. "You try to work it out."

Dole probably never merited the full extent of his "hatchet man" reputation. Reporters who talked to him in private even a decade ago found an honest senator with a sense of humor that he turned toward himself as often as toward others. "I don't think you've damaged anybody's reputation," a reporter once remarked to him after an unexpectedly gentle interview. "No," Dole said. "Only mine."

Still, it was the public Dole who was seen and remembered in Washington, and that version could be nasty indeed. The Kansas Republican was President Nixon's most strident backer in the Senate during his first term. In an often abrasive fashion, he defended Nixon's Vietnam policies, his Supreme Court nominations of Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G.

Harold Carswell, his ABM program and almost every other move the president made.

Dole's performance did not always sit well with his Senate colleagues, but he was rewarded in 1971 when Nixon named him Republican national chairman. He never got on well with the White House staff, however, and was pushed from the party leadership in January 1973 — a stroke of good fortune, as it turned out, since he escaped the subsequent Watergate scandal. Although he had been GOP chairman when the June 1972 burglary occurred, Dole never knew what was going on at the Nixon reelection committee. "Watergate happened on my night off," he later said.

He established his independence of Nixon well before Watergate, but he seemed to have lost none of his abrasiveness when he served as Gerald R. Ford's vice presidential running mate in 1976, denouncing the "Democrat wars" of the 20th century. Only after days of controversy did Dole grudgingly back away from the remark and concede he really did not believe any party should be held responsible for the nation's wars.

That vice presidential campaign may have marked a turning point in Dole's career. He never accepted the notion that his negative style cost Ford the presidency, but he has never sounded quite so strident since then either — in the Senate or during his brief, unsuccessful campaign for president in 1980. By the time Dole returned to national prominence as Finance chairman in 1981, he struck many Senate observers as a different person.

Some who doubt that the 1976 campaign was a turning point prefer to attribute the "new" Dole to the influence of his wife, Elizabeth Hanford, whom he married in 1975. A federal trade commissioner under Ford and White House aide under Reagan, she became

**Robert Dole, R-Kan.**

transportation secretary in 1983. When she appeared before a Senate committee prior to her confirmation, Dole said "I regret that I have but one wife to give for my country's infrastructure."

Dole is often as funny as that, but most of the time there is considerably more bite to his humor. Early in 1982, he told listeners that he had good news and bad news. "The good news," he said, "is that a bus full of supply-siders went off a cliff. The bad news is that two seats were empty."

That joke symbolized Dole's real doubts about the philosophy behind Reagan's 1981 tax cut. From the beginning, Dole was interested in targeted tax incentives aimed at boosting savings, investment and productivity, rather than across-the-board reduction. But he loyally shepherded the Reagan plan through the Senate. When it did not work out as its advocates had hoped, Dole moved quickly to change it the following year.

Dole's job on the 1981 tax bill had been easy — members of Congress like to vote for tax reductions, and this package was being pushed by a very popular president. Dole's most significant accomplishment was persuading Reagan to back a 25-percent cut over three years, in place of the 30 percent in the original proposal.

The 1982 bill was a different story. Dole first had to convince a reluctant Reagan to accept the necessity of doing something to increase government revenues and thus lower the massive federal deficit. He did so by painting his proposal as a tax reform measure, rather than a rejection of Reaganomics. "We are not making a U-turn; we are merely adjusting the route to keep from going off the road," he said.

In the committee, Dole used all his skills — detailed knowledge of tax policy and a sharp sense of committee politics — to fashion a bill acceptable to his fellow Republicans. The measure was written in a closed GOP caucus, and some Democrats resented their exclusion. But Dole made sure every member was given at least one pet provision to keep him happy.

Some of Dole's best tactical maneuvering came on the Senate floor. During one all-night session on the bill, restaurant lobbyists pushed through an amendment to delete tip reporting provisions. Angered by the move, Dole persuaded Finance Committee members to back a retaliatory amendment reducing the tax deduction for business lunches — something liberal Democrats had been pushing for years. The tip reporting provision survived, contributing to the bill's \$98.3 billion in increased federal revenues over a three-year period.

As the history of the tax bill shows, Dole walks a fine line between loyalty to the Reagan administration and protecting his own political interests. While he pressured Reagan to change on taxes, he backs administration economic policy on many issues even when other Republicans are straying.

Early in 1982, after Congress passed a bill providing the federal government with standby power to allocate oil supplies, Dole was one of a delegation of Republican leaders that went to the White House to urge Reagan not to veto the measure. When it was vetoed anyway, Dole switched sides and supported Reagan. Later in the year he backed the president's veto of an emergency funding bill that was endorsed by many Republicans. "I don't suggest we're busting the budget but I don't want to bust the president either," he said.

In 1983 Dole and Reagan went down together in the Senate fighting to preserve income tax withholding on interest and dividends. The administration had proposed withholding in the previous year's budget, and Dole had included it in the 1982 tax bill, arguing that it would net the federal government an additional \$20 billion over five years. It was to take effect in mid-1983.

The banking industry mounted an intensive lobbying campaign to repeal the provision, citing the extra paperwork burden imposed on banks and telling some depositors that they would be required to pay more in taxes. Dole was their chief antagonist.

Democratic Rep. Norman E. D'Amours of New Hampshire, leading the House fight for repeal, charged that "to listen to Bob Dole, you'd think Satan himself was behind this effort." He was exaggerating only slightly. Dole accused the bankers of "the most massive campaign in American history to intimidate the Congress."

By mid-April, though, it was clear that the banks had succeeded. To avoid outright repeal, Dole and Reagan agreed to a "compromise" that delayed withholding until at least 1987. "Very frankly," Dole admitted, "we didn't have the votes."

Along with his importance on taxes, Dole's position as Finance chairman has placed him at the center of debate on Social Security. He was a member of the National Commission on Social Security Reform and played a key role in finding the compromise that allowed the commission to issue its recommendations on saving the system.

Dole also helped put through an extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982. After days of delicate negotiations with civil rights groups,

*Kansas - Senior Senator*

How Judiciary Committee members and the Administration, Dole came up with a deal that allowed the bill to emerge from the committee with provisions making it easier to prove voting rights violations. He won high praise from civil rights lobbyists.

As a member of the Agriculture Committee, Dole consistently has departed from conservative ranks to help craft and enlarge the food stamp program, popular among Kansas wheat growers as well as impoverished recipients. Over the 1970s, he regularly joined forces with the committee with South Dakota Democrat George McGovern, whom he roundly criticized in the 1972 campaign.

In 1981, when Reagan proposed drastic reductions in the food stamp program, Dole was instrumental in persuading administration officials to soften them. Then he worked with Democrat Patrick Leahy of Vermont to move a modified package through the Agriculture Committee over the objection of its chairman, Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who wanted to go even further than Reagan. Helms fought for his years in committee and on the floor, and lost both times.

Dole has been a crusader for federal aid to the handicapped. He lives with his own handicap, a nearly useless right arm and a somewhat impaired left one resulting from a devastating wound sustained during combat in Italy late in World War II. The years he spent recovering indelibly marked his character.

Having survived real trouble, Dole seldom seems to take himself or anything else too seriously. But he has an underlying determination and fierce competitive streak. "I do try harder," he once said. "If I didn't, I'd be sitting at a rest home, in a rocker, drawing disability."

**At Home:** Dole is today the foremost political figure in Kansas. Republicans in the state's congressional delegation defer to him out of habit. In 1980 he coasted to easy reelection.

But the road to his political security has been a bit rough. Another 982 votes in his 1960 House primary would have sent another man to Washington in his place. A swing of 2,600 would have unseated him four years later. One percentage point would have defeated him in 1974.

Dole emerged from his World War II ordeal with ambition and an ample share of discipline. Even before completing his law degree, he won a term in the Kansas House. After

two years there, he became Russell County prosecutor.

Eight years later, he was a candidate for the U.S. House, running for the GOP nomination against Keith G. Sebelius, a Republican from nearby Norton County. Dole defeated him by 982 votes, forcing Sebelius to wait eight years for a House vacancy. In the fall, Dole was an easy winner, keeping the old 6th District of western Kansas in its traditionally Republican hands.

In 1962 the state's two western districts were combined, and Dole had to run against a Democratic incumbent, J. Floyd Breeding. He beat him by more than 20,000 votes.

But he had a difficult time in 1964 coping with the national Democratic landslide and with Bill Bork, a farmers' co-op official. Democrat Bork said he would be a better friend of agriculture than Dole, who he pointed out was a small-town lawyer, not a farmer. Dole won by 5,126 votes.

In 1968 Republican Frank Carlson announced his retirement from the Senate, and Dole competed with former Gov. William H. Avery for the GOP nomination to succeed him. Avery had been ousted from the Statehouse two years earlier by Democrat Robert Docking, and he seemed preoccupied during much of the primary campaign with Docking rather than Dole. The result was a Dole victory by a remarkable plurality of more than 100,000 votes.

That fall, Dole also had an easy time against Democrat William I. Robinson, a Wichita attorney who criticized him for opposing federal aid to schools. Dole talked about the social unrest of that year and blamed much of it on the Johnson administration in Washington.

The 1974 campaign was different. Dole was weighted down with his earlier Nixon connections, which were played up, probably to an unwise degree, by Democratic challenger William Roy, a two-term House member. Roy continued referring to Nixon and Watergate even after he had built a comfortable lead against Dole. This enabled Dole to strike back with an advertisement in which a mud-splattered poster of himself was gradually wiped clean as he insisted on his honesty.

Dole came from behind in the final weeks to defeat Roy by 13,532 votes. Since then, he has had nothing to worry about. He encountered only weak opposition for a third term in 1980.

**Robert Dole, R-Kan.****Committees****Finance (Chairman)**

Health; Oversight of the Internal Revenue Service; Social Security and Income Maintenance Programs.

**Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (2nd of 10 Republicans)**

Nutrition (chairman); Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices; Foreign Agricultural Policy.

**Judiciary (5th of 10 Republicans)**

Courts (chairman); Criminal Law; Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks.

**Rules and Administration (7th of 7 Republicans)****Joint Taxation****Elections****1980 General**

Robert Dole (R) 598,686 (64%)

John Simpson (D) 340,271 (36%)

**1980 Primary**

Robert Dole (R) 201,484 (82%)

Jim Grainger (R) 44,674 (18%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1974 (51%) 1968 (60%)

1966\* (69%) 1964\* (51%) 1962\* (56%) 1960\* (59%)

\* House elections.

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1980</b>			
Dole (R)	\$1,327,384	\$422,531 (32%)	\$1,224,494
Simpson (D)	\$340,147	\$52,290 (15%)	\$339,987

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	86	13	91	8	85	10
1981	85	7	94	5	92	5
1980	48	49	72	24	77	20
1979	39	57	78	16	85	14
1978	32	65	77	19	83	14
1977	53	44	85	12	89	8
1976	66	17	71	12	77	7
1975	75	16	86	8	90	5
1974 (Ford)	34	37				
1974	63	33	71	21	76	17

1973	71	27	83	14	89	10
1972	87	4	87	3	88	1
1971	80	13	80	9	87	4
1970	81	15	88	8	86	7
1969	75	21	80	12	87	7
<b>House service</b>						
1968	42	46	79	6	88	0
1967	40	53	84	7	91	4
1966	37	63	90	10	100	0
1965	34	63	91	7	98	2
1964	27	73	84	6	100	0
1963	23	76	100	0	93	7
1962	33	65	93	5	94	0
1961	15	83	88	12	100	0

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	Y
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	15	71	20	62	
1981	5	70	11	100	
1980	22	77	28	90	
1979	21	64	21	73	75
1978	20	58	22	83	
1977	5	70	11	88	
1976	10	87	16	75	
1975	17	67	24	75	
1974	19	84	18	80	
1973	10	82	27	78	
1972	0	84	10	100	
1971	4	71	17	-	
1970	13	76	17	89	
1969	0	64	18	-	
<b>House service</b>					
1968	0	90	25	-	
1967	7	96	9	100	
1966	0	93	0	-	
1965	0	89	-	100	
1964	4	95	9	-	
1963	-	100	-	-	
1962	0	91	0	-	
1961	0	-	-	-	

*West Virginia - Junior Senator*

## Robert C. Byrd (D)

**Of Sophia — Elected 1958**

**Born:** Nov. 20, 1917, North Wilkesboro, N.C.  
**Education:** Beckley College, Concord College, Morris Harvey College, 1950-51; Marshall College, 1951-52; American U., J.D. 1963.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Erma Ora James; two children.

**Religion:** Baptist.

**Political Career:** W.Va. House, 1947-51; W.Va. Senate, 1951-53; U.S. House, 1953-59.

**Capitol Office:** 311 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-3954.



**In Washington:** After a political lifetime spent gaining power by giving favors, Byrd found his traditional style essentially useless in the 97th Congress, where nearly all the favors were under Republican control. He had to struggle to be an effective minority leader, using talents better suited to the housekeeping duties of the majority.

Byrd never really did "make the trains run on time," as the saying goes, during his four years as majority leader. But he had a knack for meeting other senators' personal and political needs, from scheduling a minor bill to working out delicate language on a crucial treaty. If he was not the easiest man in the world to like, he was a competent manager, and senators were indebted to him for it.

After the Democrats' crushing 1980 defeat, however, the same colleagues were more likely to worry about Byrd's distant personality and rigid speaking style, which seemed poorly suited to a role as national spokesman of the party out of power. Byrd himself faced a potentially difficult re-election fight in West Virginia, and there was talk of a challenge to him among Senate Democrats.

Those threats have faded now; there was no effort by other Democrats to replace Byrd at the start of the 98th Congress. Byrd himself has suggested that the minority leader post is not a terribly attractive job — "I don't know who else would want it," he has said. "It's nice to have the title, but there's a lot of work involved."

But there are other reasons why Byrd's leadership position is not under serious challenge. He has had some success in getting the Senate Democrats back together. Byrd has worked hard over the past two years to rebuild party ties and work toward a cohesive opposition to the Reagan administration.

Byrd's strong resistance to the administra-

tion was not a sure thing at the beginning — he voted for President Reagan's 1981 tax and budget cut bills. Soon, however, he shifted to opposition, particularly after the administration proposed cuts in Social Security.

To unite the Democrats, Byrd tried a number of different steps. He scheduled weekly luncheons of the Democratic Caucus, which had met rarely when it was a majority. A weekend retreat in West Virginia late in 1981 brought nearly all the Democratic senators together to thrash out their disagreements.

Byrd also sought to revive the moribund Democratic Policy Committee, hiring a former Carter aide to run its public relations operation. He appointed a series of task forces on various issues to propose Democratic legislative alternatives.

Few senators would have forecast a leadership role for Robert Byrd when he arrived in the Senate in 1958. In those days he was considered parochial in his emphasis on West Virginia issues and far to the right of most Democratic senators on others. He opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964; he was a scourge of welfare recipients as chairman of the District of Columbia Appropriations Subcommittee, ordering inspections to see whether female welfare recipients were harboring unreported men in their homes.

But by 1967, he had a toehold on the Senate leadership ladder, defeating the veteran liberal Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania to become secretary of the Democratic Conference. Unnoticed by outsiders, Byrd set about serving his colleagues, scheduling routine business to suit their convenience and tending to countless details involved in running the Senate.

Four years later he cashed the chips he had so carefully collected and ousted a stunned Edward M. Kennedy from the No. 2 leadership

**Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va.**

job, majority whip. Kennedy, shaken by the Chappaquiddick controversy in 1969, had been neither an active nor effective whip, but he anticipated no trouble. He went into the 1971 party caucus full of confidence and verbal commitments.

Byrd, however, entered with a pocketful of due bills and a deathbed proxy from his Senate mentor, the late Richard Russell of Georgia. It was no contest.

For six years after that, Byrd was a loyal lieutenant to Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, sitting through long days of floor work while deferring to Mansfield as party spokesman and political leader.

An indefatigable worker, Byrd soon became a master of Senate rules and procedures. He studied constantly — history, philosophy, poetry and law — seeking to improve himself. (He already had a law degree, obtained in 1963 after he attended night school at American University in Washington during his first Senate term.) And he continued to perform favors, small and not so small, for his fellow senators.

When Mansfield retired, Byrd was ready. Some liberals wanted the universally beloved Hubert H. Humphrey in the top leadership job, believing he would be a more presentable and eloquent spokesman than Byrd, whom many of them still saw as a mere technician.

But Byrd once again had a long column of accounts receivable — and he called them. Humphrey, already seriously ill, withdrew before the balloting even started, and Byrd was elected by acclamation.

By the time of his accession to the leadership, Byrd had moved a considerable distance to the left. The hard-liner who broke with a majority of his party to support an anti-ballistic missile system in 1969 became strongly committed a decade later to a strategic arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union. The bitter critic of self-government for the District of Columbia in the 1960s won Senate approval for a constitutional amendment giving the District voting representation in Congress. And the senator who once dismissed the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as a "self-serving rabble-rouser" fought to the very end of the 96th Congress in a vain effort to strengthen federal fair housing laws.

Byrd took over the majority leadership as Jimmy Carter was becoming president. His tenure as majority leader was marked by an uneasy relationship with his fellow Democrat, whom he seemed to regard as an amateur with little aptitude for the exercise of power. Nonetheless, Byrd repeatedly saved the Democratic administration in difficult legislative situations

— making sure that Carter knew where the credit belonged.

His most dramatic rescue operation came in 1978, when he saved the Panama Canal transfer treaties for Carter through non-stop negotiations with wavering senators, personal diplomacy with Panamanian officials and last-second language changes that finally amassed the votes needed for ratification. Byrd also played an indispensable role in the passage of Carter's energy program, approval of the Middle East arms sale package, lifting of the Turkish arms embargo and extension of the deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

In a word, Byrd has gone "national." His defense of West Virginia interests, especially coal, has never ceased, but it is now seen as a fragment of his record, not the most important part of it. During his last year as majority leader, when he maneuvered to get the Senate to weaken the three-year-old strip-mine control act, few liberals treated it as a major offense. His right to speak for the Democratic Party in the Senate was no longer in question.

**At Home:** A year before the 1982 election, it seemed Byrd's transformation into a national figure might be costly for him in West Virginia. Republican leaders, believing he had turned left and grown vulnerable, prepared their most serious challenge since he first won the seat in 1958. They speculated that the senator's campaign skills, honed in the 1940s, would be ineffective against a 1980s media assault.

Byrd taught them a few things. Taking advantage of a beleaguered economy and a badly mismanaged GOP effort that wasted most of its money, he drew nearly 70 percent, humiliating the Republican who had left his House seat to run.

The senator was born Cornelius Calvin Sale Jr. When he was 10, his mother died and his father abandoned him, and he spent his childhood with an aunt and uncle, Vlurma and Titus Byrd, in the hard-scrabble coal country of southern West Virginia.

Byrd graduated first in his high school class, but it took him 12 more years before he could afford to start college. He worked as a gas station attendant, grocery store clerk, shipyard welder and butcher before his talents as a fiddle player helped win him a seat in the state Legislature in 1946.

Friends drove Byrd around the hills and hollows, where he brought the voters out by playing "Cripple Creek" and "Rye Whiskey." From then on, he never lost an election. As he himself once put it, "There are four things people believe in in West Virginia — God

*West Virginia - Junior Senator*

Almighty, Sears Roebuck, Carters Little Liver Pills and Robert C. Byrd."

When Democrat Erland Hedrick retired in the old 6th Congressional District in 1952, Byrd was an obvious contender. But he had to surmount a serious political problem: He had joined the Ku Klux Klan at age 24 and as late as 1946 wrote a letter to the imperial grand wizard urging a Klan rebirth "in every state of the Union."

When this came up publicly in 1952, his opponents and Democratic Gov. Okey L. Patteson called on him to drop out. He refused, explaining his Klan membership as a youthful indiscretion committed because of his alarm over communism, and he won the election.

After three House terms, he ran for the Senate in 1958 with the support of the AFL-CIO and the United Mine Workers. He crushed his primary opposition and made an impressive showing in unseating Republican Chapman Revercomb, a veteran who had been in and out of the Senate in the 1940s and won a two-year term in a comeback in 1956. Revercomb was a weak incumbent before the campaign even began, and the 1958 recession had had a serious impact in West Virginia, driving voters closer to New Deal Democratic roots. Byrd was an easy winner.

For the next two decades, West Virginians returned him to the Senate by larger and larger margins. In 1964, he trounced Cooper Benedict, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense. Six years later, the Republicans put up Charleston Mayor Elmer H. Dodson, who campaigned little and suffered an overwhelming defeat. In 1976, no one filed against Byrd, and his only real contest was as a favorite son in the state's presidential primary. He won that in a landslide, defeating George C. Wallace, who was once strong in West Virginia but whose national campaign was by then close to collapse.

By 1982, West Virginia's political climate had changed. Two years earlier, the conservative Reagan tide had helped the GOP pick up two House seats in West Virginia. One of the Republican newcomers, Rep. Cleve Benedict

(the son of Cooper Benedict), decided to challenge Byrd in 1980.

An heir to the Procter & Gamble fortune, Benedict was able to finance a year-long media campaign. Both he and the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) peppered Byrd with negative ads, attacking Byrd's support of the Panama Canal treaties and his failure to maintain a residence in West Virginia.

To the astonishment of party and press people, the Benedict campaign engaged in a series of controversial pranks. At one campaign stop, Benedict workers presented Byrd with a membership in NCPAC. At another, a Benedict worker tried to give Byrd a Ku Klux Klan hood, a not-so-subtle reminder of Byrd's past membership.

Raising the Klan issue was a silly tactic. Byrd had successfully put that problem to rest 30 years earlier, and Benedict's attempt to revive it struck many voters as character assassination.

The attacks ruffled the proud and prickly senator, but he neither overreacted verbally nor campaigned lethargically, as the Benedict forces had hoped he would. Stunned by the huge Democratic Senate losses in 1980, Byrd had prepared well for the challenge to his seat. He solidified labor and party support and put together a campaign treasury nearly twice as large as Benedict's.

Byrd stressed his West Virginia roots, maintained that being the No. 2 man in the Senate was better than being a freshman, and sharply criticized Benedict and NCPAC for dirty tricks that he said embarrassed West Virginia. He frequently called Benedict a consistent supporter of Reagan's failed economic policy.

By Election Day, it was clear that Byrd would win. Benedict had started the year far behind in the polls, and his campaign tactics only made his situation worse. But few people predicted the proportions of the landslide. Byrd swept all but one of the state's 45 counties en route to re-election with nearly 70 percent of the vote.

Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va.

## Committees

## Minority Leader

## Appropriations (2nd of 14 Democrats)

Interior and Related Agencies (ranking); Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies; Energy and Water Development; Labor Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies; Transportation and Related Agencies.

## Judiciary (3rd of 8 Democrats)

## Rules and Administration (3rd of 5 Democrats)

## Elections

## 1982 General

Robert Byrd (D) 387,170 (69%)  
Cleve Benedict (R) 173,910 (31%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1976 (100%) 1970 (78%)  
1964 (68%) 1958 (59%) 1956\* (57%) 1954\* (63%)  
1952\* (56%)

\* House election.

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Byrd (D)	\$1,841,585	\$713,185 (39%)	\$1,746,230
Benedict (R)	\$1,092,987	\$275,734 (25%)	\$1,093,080
1976			
Byrd (D)	\$271,124	\$64,240 (24%)	\$94,335

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	40	60	81	19	56	44
1981	47	48	78	14	43	53
1980	73	26	87	12	42	58
1979	77	20	79	20	57	43
1978	82	15	79	19	40	58
1977	84	15	66	31	55	44
1976	47	53	73	26	42	57
1975	66	34	63	36	64	35
1974 (Ford)	47	53				
1974	47	53	63	37	56	44
1973	40	60	75	25	47	53

1972	67	30	68	31	50	48
1971	55	35	62	32	64	29
1970	57	33	66	26	44	46
1969	46	47	52	34	59	33
1968	49	46	63	24	56	33
1967	65	27	68	24	71	23
1966	63	31	64	28	49	49
1965	64	27	62	31	57	33
1964	67	24	68	28	61	33
1963	75	12	85	11	32	58
1962	86	14	93	7	50	50
1961	83	15	92	6	20	80

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Allow vote on anti-busing bill (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Cut off B-1 bomber funds (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Retain tobacco price supports (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete \$1.2 billion for public works jobs (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1982	60	48	92	48	
1981	70	29	89	39	
1980	56	15	58	33	
1979	53	26	58	18	33
1978	45	29	78	28	
1977	50	37	60	39	
1976	45	31	79	22	
1975	28	43	50	50	
1974	52	47	82	20	
1973	60	38	91	22	
1972	35	50	70	0	
1971	26	45	58	-	
1970	31	50	50	20	
1969	33	50	36	-	
1968	21	63	0	-	
1967	23	38	33	40	
1966	35	31	50	-	
1965	35	32	-	40	
1964	52	39	64	-	
1963	-	8	-	-	
1962	67	7	91	-	
1961	80	-	-	-	

HPSCI

MEMBERSHIP FOR  
HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
99th CONGRESS

DEMOCRATS

Chairman  
Lee H. Hamilton (D., IN)

Louis Stokes (D., OH)  
Dave McCurdy (D., OK)  
Anthony C. Beilenson (D., CA)  
Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., WI)  
Dan Daniel (D., VA)  
Robert A. Roe (D., NJ)  
George E. Brown, Jr. (D., CA)  
Matthew F. McHugh (D., NY)  
Bernard J. Dwyer (D., NJ)

REPUBLICANS

Ranking Minority Member  
Bob Stump (R., AZ)

Andy Ireland (R., FL)  
Henry J. Hyde (R., IL)  
Dick Cheney (R., WY)  
Bob Livingston (R., LA)  
Bob McEwen (R., OH)

EX OFFICIO: James C. Wright, Jr. (D., TX)  
Robert H. Michel (R., IL)

Indiana - 9th District

## Lee H. Hamilton (D)

Of Nashville — Elected 1964

**Born:** April 20, 1931, Daytona Beach, Fla.  
**Education:** DePauw U., B.A. 1952; Ind. U., J.D. 1956.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Nancy Nelson; three children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2187 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5315.



**In Washington:** A man who chooses his issues carefully and times his few speeches for maximum impact, Hamilton has a reservoir of respect few members can match. But he has been reluctant to take advantage of it, and he has never sought a broker's role in House politics.

Scornful of self-promotion, Hamilton approaches his job with unwavering earnestness. Every week he mails his constituents a newsletter notable because it lacks the traditional self-serving photos and features about the incumbent. Hamilton simply explains one issue each week and sets out the major arguments on each side. Sometimes he does not even express his own opinion.

This low-key style has evolved over nearly 20 years on Foreign Affairs, which Hamilton joined as a freshman in 1965, and on the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee, which he chairs. He is one of a handful of members who have made the once-passive Foreign Affairs Committee closer in stature to its traditionally dominant Senate counterpart. Now third in line on Foreign Affairs behind two Democrats who are both more than a decade older, Hamilton seems almost certain to inherit the committee at some point in the 1980s.

In 1972 Hamilton sponsored the first end-the-Vietnam-War measure ever adopted by the Foreign Affairs Committee. His amendment to a foreign aid bill called for withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, contingent on release of all prisoners of war and agreement with North Vietnam on a cease-fire plan. The amendment was killed on the House floor in August 1972, but it helped set the stage for later congressional actions to end the war.

Hamilton frequently writes letters to top administration officials demanding explanations of policy decisions, and publishes their responses in the *Congressional Record*. He forces the State Department to brief him regularly on developments in the Middle East.

When the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 forced Congress to approve a new \$4.8 billion American aid package, Hamilton managed it on the House floor and won its approval, calling it "a bargain for the United States."

As subcommittee chairman, he has sought to steer a middle course between the panel's militant pro-Israel faction and those who want to pay serious attention to Arab and Palestinian demands. In the 97th Congress, Hamilton sharply criticized Israeli handling of the raids on Palestinian camps in Lebanon. But he also was one of the more skeptical members in his approach toward Reagan administration plans for new arms sales to Jordan.

In his subcommittee's sensitive debates over aid to Greece and Turkey, Hamilton played what amounted to a referee's role. He was willing to back increased arms sales to Turkey, but insisted on imposing conditions and considering arms for Greece at the same time.

Hamilton began to build his favorable reputation early in his House career, winning election in 1965 as president of the freshman Democratic class in the 89th Congress. Later the same year, Hamilton received widespread press attention with a letter to President Johnson saying it was "time to pause" in action on Great Society social programs.

That strain of domestic conservatism has shown up in his budget voting of the last few years. Skeptical of the deficit levels the House Budget Committee has endorsed, he has sometimes voted against the committee's resolutions on final passage, taking most of the Indiana Democratic delegation with him. In 1981 he backed the Democratic leadership in voting against President Reagan's budget.

Much of Hamilton's time in recent years

Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind.

## Indiana 9

This is the largest and least urbanized district in the state. The hilly forests and farm lands are more akin to Kentucky and parts of southern Ohio and Illinois than to the flat Hoosier farm lands farther north. Many of those who settled here came from the South and brought with them their Democratic allegiances.

Poultry and cattle are the major agricultural commodities of the area, which is also the center of some of the nation's finest and most abundant limestone quarries. Stone cutters, like those portrayed in the movie "Breaking Away," regularly excavate rock that is used for building material throughout the country.

The Indiana suburbs of Louisville, Ky., along the Ohio River, make up the district's largest concentration of voters. Centered on New Albany, the district's largest city with just 37,000 people, this area is experiencing a minor population boom. With the counties along the Ohio River leading the way, the 9th grew faster in the 1970s than all but one district in the state.

## Southeast — Bloomington; New Albany

In the days of the steamboats, when Indiana's economy depended upon the cargoes that came up the Ohio River, New Albany was the state's largest city. Although the river's contribution to the local livelihood has dropped off considerably in the last hundred years, the 9th District still depends upon river traffic and industries located along the river bank for many of its jobs.

In its northwest corner, the 9th takes in most of Bloomington, the home of Indiana University. The district boundary runs along 3rd Street in Bloomington, placing the northern two-thirds of the city's 52,000 residents in the 9th. Included in that area is all of Indiana University's campus as well as most of the off-campus housing and faculty neighborhoods.

Population: 544,873. White 530,291 (97%), Black 10,205 (2%). Spanish origin 3,180 (1%). 18 and over 383,018 (70%), 65 and over 56,470 (10%). Median age: 28.

has been spent on ethics issues as a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In 1977 he chaired a task force that recommended new rules limiting members' outside earned income and honoraria. Most of the recommendations were adopted by the House, although in 1981 the outside income limit was doubled, to 30 percent of a member's salary.

In the 96th Congress, Hamilton was the dominant Democrat on the ethics committee, performing many of the behind-the-scenes chores for its mercurial chairman, Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.

Hamilton persuaded the panel to revise the ethics rules to clarify the differences among various punishments meted out in ethics cases. He worked on the committee's recommendation of censure for Michigan Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr., convicted in a kickback scheme, and on the Abscam bribery investigations.

On Abscam, however, Hamilton broke with Bennett and most of the committee. The panel recommended that Rep. Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa., be expelled following his conviction in federal court for accepting bribes. The expulsion came to the floor on the day the House

was scheduled to recess for the 1980 election, and Hamilton said the rushed atmosphere was denying Myers due process. But the majority was on the other side, and Myers was expelled. Hamilton left the panel at the end of 1980.

**At Home:** The son and brother of ministers, Hamilton has a devotion to work that comes out of his traditional Methodist family. From his days in Evansville High School in 1948, when he helped propel the basketball team to the state finals, to his race for Congress in 1964, he displayed a quiet, consistent determination.

When he graduated from DePauw University in 1952, he received an award as the outstanding senior. He accepted a scholarship to Goethe University in Germany for further study.

Hamilton practiced law for a while in Chicago, but soon decided to settle in Columbus, Indiana, where his interest in politics led him into the local Democratic Party. In 1960 he was chairman of the Bartholomew County (Columbus) Citizens for Kennedy. Two years later he managed Birch Bayh's Senate campaign in Columbus.

He was the consensus choice of the local Democratic organization for the 9th District House nomination in 1964, and won the primary with 46 percent of the vote in a field of five candidates. He went on to defeat longtime Republican Rep. Earl Wilson, a crusty fiscal watchdog who had represented the district for almost a quarter of a century.

With his widespread personal respect, Hamilton has been re-elected easily ever since. After a few years, Republicans gave up on defeating him and added Democrats to his district to give GOP candidates a better chance

elsewhere in the state. In 1976, for the first time in the history of the district, the Republicans put up no candidate at all. In 1980, as Democrats were having trouble all over Indiana, Hamilton was drawing his usual percentage — nearly 65 percent of the vote.

Conceding that Hamilton was unbeatable, the Republican Legislature made no effort to weaken him in the 1981 redistricting, although they removed Hamilton's hometown of Columbus from the district. He switched his residence to the next county and was re-elected with 67 percent of the vote.

#### Indiana - 9th District

### Committees

**Foreign Affairs** (3rd of 24 Democrats)  
Europe and the Middle East (chairman); International Security and Scientific Affairs.

**Select Intelligence** (6th of 9 Democrats)  
Oversight and Evaluation.

**Joint Economic** (vice chairman)  
Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy (chairman); Monetary and Fiscal Policy.

### Elections

#### 1982 General

Lee H. Hamilton (D) 121,094 (67%)  
Floyd Coates (R) 58,532 (32%)

#### 1980 General

Lee H. Hamilton (D) 136,574 (64%)  
George Meyers Jr. (R) 75,601 (36%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (66%) 1976 (100%)  
1974 (71%) 1972 (63%) 1970 (63%) 1968 (54%)  
1966 (54%) 1964 (54%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	92,931 (43%)	D	109,023 (52%)
R	112,568 (52%)	R	98,908 (47%)
I	8,747 (4%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Hamilton (D)	\$159,150	\$58,065 (36%)	\$177,607
Coates (R)	\$233,458	\$550 (.2%)	\$147,881
<b>1980</b>			
Hamilton (D)	\$113,260	\$33,532 (25%)	\$122,674

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	47	52	66	33	58	42
1981	47	51	71	27	56	44

1980	74	25	67	31	48	47
1979	76	23	71	29	44	56
1978	86	14	74	26	33	67
1977	72	23	80	18	32	65
1976	33	67	72	27	43	55
1975	51	48	69	29	45	54
1974 (Ford)	65	35				
1974	70	26	65	32	39	55
1973	41	58	82	18	30	70
1972	68	30	71	28	35	63
1971	42	54	85	12	17	78
1970	68	23	74	21	23	73
1969	68	32	85	15	22	78
1968	82	15	77	18	27	65
1967	85	12	79	19	44	52
1966	82	10	75	15	32	51
1965	84	11	82	13	24	75

S = Support

O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	70	30	80	45
1981	65	33	67	28
1980	44	46	47	76
1979	53	27	70	50
1978	35	31	50	35
1977	60	15	64	50
1976	50	11	52	32
1975	68	43	74	29
1974	65	7	70	50
1973	80	4	73	36
1972	50	26	82	10
1971	89	7	75	-
1970	80	13	67	22
1969	53	13	90	-
1968	58	22	75	-
1967	53	11	83	30
1966	47	33	85	-
1965	58	15	-	10

Ohio - 21st District

## Louis Stokes (D)

Of Warrensville Heights — Elected 1968

**Born:** Feb. 23, 1925, Cleveland, Ohio.  
**Education:** Attended Western Reserve U., 1946-48;  
 Cleveland Marshall Law School, J.D. 1953.  
**Military Career:** U.S. Army, 1943-46.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jeanette Francis; four children.  
**Religion:** African Methodist Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2465 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-7032.



**In Washington:** Stokes came to Congress in an era of black activism, and he is still an important spokesman on minority issues at the Appropriations Committee. But he has attracted more attention in recent years as a kind of trouble-shooter for the House leadership.

His current assignment is the chairmanship of the House ethics committee, formally the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Speaker O'Neill asked him in 1981 to take over a panel criticized privately by many House members as too rigid in dealing with colleagues.

Stokes had taken an interest in ethics issues during the long debate that led to the 1979 censure of the senior black House member, Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., who had been convicted on kickback charges. Stokes acted as floor manager for Diggs, although he joined in the 414-0 vote to censure him.

The following year, Stokes was named to the ethics committee himself, and dissented quietly as the committee recommended censure of Charles Wilson, D-Calif., for financial misconduct, and expulsion of Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa., following his bribery conviction arising from Abscam. Stokes argued against the expulsion of Myers and tried to change Wilson's penalty to a reprimand.

As chairman, Stokes has tried to avoid playing the role of prosecutor. He leaves the sharp questioning to others and speaks of protecting the rights of the accused. This careful style has pleased O'Neill, who sometimes appeared uncomfortable with the previous chairman, Charles E. Bennett of Florida, long known as a purist on ethics issues. Bennett stepped down after two years in the chairmanship, and Democratic leaders took the opportunity to replace him with a much less hard-line chairman.

Once in charge, Stokes endorsed a series of rules changes that would have created a sepa-

rate panel of members to try disciplinary cases after the ethics committee recommended action. But nothing ever came of the idea. Stokes voted with the majority in April of 1981 as the committee recommended expulsion for Democrat Raymond F. Lederer of Pennsylvania, the last remaining House member involved in the Abscam bribery case. Lederer resigned from the House the next day.

For more than a year after that, the committee was relatively quiet. It began investigating a variety of drug and tax-evasion charges against New York Democrat Frederick W. Richmond, but its job ended in mid-1982 when Richmond pleaded guilty and resigned from the House.

In July of 1982, however, the committee found itself in the headlines again after Leroy Williams, a House page from Arkansas, charged that some members had used drugs and engaged in homosexual activities with the teen-aged pages. Stokes appointed Washington lawyer Joseph J. Califano to investigate, but the issue began to fade when Williams admitted lying about the original charges. In December, Califano gave Stokes' committee a 118-page report finding no improper behavior by members and implying that the media had been irresponsible in spreading an unfounded story. Stokes asked Califano to continue looking into the drug issue.

Stokes' ethics chairmanship marks the second time he has moved in to take over a troubled committee. In 1977 he became chairman of the bitterly divided panel that was investigating the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The original chairman, Henry Gonzalez of Texas, got into a nasty public fight with Richard Sprague, the Pennsylvania prosecutor who had been hired as committee counsel. The

**Louis Stokes, D-Ohio**

## Ohio 21

One of the axioms of Ohio politics is that to win statewide, a Democratic candidate must build a 100,000-vote edge in Cuyahoga County. Most of that lead has to be built in the 21st, which is anchored in Cleveland's heavily black East Side.

The district includes the areas devastated by riot in the 1960s, as well as middle-class neighborhoods farther from the downtown area. Heavy industries, especially automobile and machine tool plants, long have been major employers. During the last decade, the 21st was the most Democratic district in the state. In 11 East Side wards, Jimmy Carter outpolled Ronald Reagan in 1980 by margins of at least 20-to-1.

To protect Stokes, the heart of the old 21st was preserved in redistricting. But to offset a 25 percent population loss over the 1970s, the fifth greatest decline recorded by any district in the country, the 21st expanded to the south and east to add about 160,000 suburbanites. While most of these new constituents are white, their presence does not significantly alter the demographics of the district. The 21st remains heavily black (62 percent compared with 79 percent before) and staunchly Democratic.

The key additions were Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and the western half of University Heights. With a large

## Cleveland — East; Cleveland Heights

proportion of Jews and young professionals, these three are among the most liberal communities in Ohio. All of them voted for Carter for president in 1980; all of them gave independent John Anderson at least 10 percent of the vote.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Shaker Heights symbolized suburbia. But in recent years, communities farther east have replaced Shaker Heights as the county's exclusive address. North of Shaker Heights is Cleveland Heights, many of whose integrated neighborhoods are a short walk from University Circle, the home of Case-Western Reserve University and the cultural hub of Cleveland.

From the circle area, commuters drive along historic Euclid Avenue to their jobs downtown. While the avenue now bears the marks of poverty, it was known as "Millionaires' Row" at the turn of the century. Few of the old mansions are left today. The one belonging to John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, was razed to make way for a gas station.

Population: 514,625. White 187,180 (36%), Black 320,816 (62%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,832 (1%). Spanish origin 5,134 (1%). 18 and over 373,272 (73%), 65 and over 63,109 (12%). Median age: 31.

committee backed Sprague, and Gonzalez quit in a huff. O'Neill chose Stokes to replace him.

Stokes shifted the hearings behind closed doors and out of the news. He led a disciplined inquiry, highlighted by a dramatic cross-examination of King's killer, James Earl Ray. The final report was accepted with some relief though many doubted its conclusions — that there probably were conspiracies in both cases. Stokes emerged with his reputation enhanced.

Stokes was the first black appointed to the Appropriations Committee and still is the only one on its HHS and HUD subcommittees. He also served on the Budget Committee for three terms, but did not play a major part in its work.

Stokes' role on Appropriations changed with President Reagan's election. Before, he had focused on minority-related issues, leaving much of the detail to other senior Democrats. But in 1981, he began spending more time at

hearings, grilling witnesses and trying to protect domestic programs from cutbacks.

Stokes largely wrote the budget offered by black members on the floor in 1981. He attacked Reagan's for providing "millions more for the most prosperous in our nation, while pennies are taken away from the poor..."

Over the course of the 97th Congress, Stokes pushed a variety of amendments in Appropriations that illustrate his priorities. One added \$140 million for Pell Grants for college tuition, another restored \$100 million for grants to elementary schools in poor communities under Title I of the 1965 education law. A third added \$25 million in operating subsidies for public housing programs.

After years of looking into the misdeeds of others, Stokes became embroiled in a legal tangle himself early in 1983. While driving through suburban Maryland late one night, he

**Ohio - 21st District**

was stopped by police. According to police, Stokes then failed three sobriety tests. He argued that he was tired after working late, pleaded not guilty and requested a jury trial.

**At Home:** The Stokes family has been the dominant force in Cleveland's black politics since Louis Stokes' younger brother, Carl, first ran for mayor in the mid-1960s. Carl left politics for television after two terms in City Hall (1967-71), but Louis has remained active. Politically secure, he has been free to help friends and quarrel with enemies over city issues.

Louis Stokes' first victory was won as much in court as on Cleveland's East Side. Representing a black Republican, he charged in a 1967 suit that the Ohio Legislature had gerrymandered the state's congressional districts, dividing the minority vote and preventing the election of a black. Stokes won an

appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court, forcing the lines to be redrawn. The new 21st District, represented by white Democrat Charles A. Vanik, was about 60 percent black. Vanik decided to run elsewhere, leaving the 21st vacant.

There were 14 candidates in the Democratic primary there in 1968, but little doubt about the outcome. Stokes' ties to his brother and reputation as a civil rights lawyer won him 41 percent in an easy victory. He became the first black congressman from Ohio that November by defeating the Republican he had represented in court the previous year.

Over the last decade, Stokes has consolidated his power through his organization, the 21st District Congressional Caucus. Some black politicians have accused him of turning the caucus into a personal political tool, but he is as popular as ever among rank-and-file voters.

**Committees**

**Standards of Official Conduct** (Chairman).

**Appropriations** (10th of 36 Democrats)

District of Columbia; HUD-Independent Agencies; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education.

**Select Intelligence** (8th of 9 Democrats)  
Legislation.

**Elections****1982 General**

Louis Stokes (D)	132,544	(86%)
Alan Shattteen (R)	21,332	(14%)

**1982 Primary**

Louis Stokes (D)	61,055	(86%)
William Boyd (D)	9,776	(14%)

**1980 General**

Louis Stokes (D)	83,188	(88%)
Robert Woodall (R)	11,103	(12%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (86%) 1976 (84%)  
1974 (82%) 1972 (81%) 1970 (78%) 1968 (75%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	138,444 (71%)	D	162,837 (71%)
R	42,938 (22%)	R	60,922 (27%)
I	9,822 (5%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Stokes (D)	\$148,400	\$47,002 (32%)	\$107,175
<b>1980</b>			
Stokes (D)	\$66,601	\$28,550 (43%)	\$58,874

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	27	65	91	4	10	86

1981	29	66	93	4	5	91
1980	55	21	78	4	2	78
1979	78	14	90	3	3	92
1978	76	15	81	4	4	84
1977	77	19	87	3	4	92
1976	24	69	85	3	4	83
1975	30	62	88	3	3	84
1974 (Ford)	41	52				
1974	34	49	82	4	1	82
1973	19	48	64	4	3	62
1972	32	46	66	4	1	74
1971	21	58	72	3	0	85
1970	40	42	71	15	2	84
1969	38	51	80	9	7	84

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	85	0	100	24
1981	90	0	93	11
1980	78	10	94	52
1979	95	0	94	6
1978	85	10	100	19
1977	90	0	91	7
1976	85	0	87	6
1975	89	4	100	18
1974	74	0	100	0
1973	68	10	100	0
1972	100	5	90	14
1971	89	4	80	-
1970	96	18	100	13
1969	100	27	100	-

Oklahoma - 4th District

## Dave McCurdy (D)

Of Norman — Elected 1980

**Born:** March 30, 1950, Canadian, Texas.  
**Education:** U. of Okla., B.A. 1972, J.D. 1975.  
**Military Career:** Air Force Reserves, 1968-72.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Pamela Plumb; two children.  
**Religion:** Lutheran.  
**Political Career:** Okla. asst. state attorney general, 1975-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 313 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6165.



**In Washington:** With as many military bases as McCurdy has in his district, he could vote unflinchingly for just about any increase in the defense budget and provoke very little criticism from constituents. But as a member of Armed Services, he has taken a relatively skeptical approach toward much of what the Pentagon tells Congress.

On the House floor in 1981, McCurdy said, "We have a lot of catching up to do" before achieving military balance with the Soviet Union. But then he added: "We owe it to the taxpayers to hold the Defense Department's feet to the fire to bring order and discipline to the procurement process."

McCurdy's interest in procurement policies earned him a spot on a special Armed Services panel set up in 1981 to study that subject. He was chosen chairman of the panel and presided over testimony from more than 100 witnesses during 18 days of hearings.

In 1982 McCurdy sponsored a floor amendment requiring the Defense Department to report to Congress on any weapon system with a cost increase of 15 percent or more.

President Reagan's popularity exerted a rightward pull on McCurdy in the 97th Congress, but he did break occasionally from the White House and the Boll Weevils to vote as a national Democrat. He opposed the Reagan budget in 1981. "A lot of people say this vote is political suicide for me," McCurdy conceded before casting it.

Liberal Democrats hope McCurdy's convincing 1982 re-election will embolden him to move closer to the party's center. But he will still be likely to display the sort of Sun Belt conservatism that led him in 1982 to propose the "Lobster Profit Sharing Act" in response to an oil severance tax offered by the Northeast-Midwest coalition.

The coalition wanted to levy the tax on

domestically produced crude and use the money to help rebuild aging cities in energy-poor areas. McCurdy said the plan was "nothing short of proclaiming civil war" on oil-producing states like Oklahoma, and he countered with a tongue-in-cheek plan to tax the lobster industry in northeastern coastal states and send the money to the lobster-starved Southwest and other areas.

**At Home:** When McCurdy began his 1980 campaign, he was unknown throughout most of his district. A former assistant attorney general with a law practice in Norman, he had never run for office before and had not been active in Democratic Party affairs.

But what McCurdy lacked in political experience he made up for in hustle. Enlisting help from several longtime backers of retiring Democratic Rep. Tom Steed, he built his own grass-roots organization. That network and his appeal as a "fresh face" enabled McCurdy to come within 5,000 votes of veteran state Rep. James B. Townsend in the primary, and overtake him in the runoff.

The general election race was just as tight. The GOP nominated Howard Rutledge, a retired Navy captain and former prisoner of war in Vietnam whose calls for strengthening defense capability endeared him to the district's sizable community of military employees and retirees. But McCurdy held on, winning enough support for his conservative economic themes to win by 2,906 votes.

Seeking revenge, Rutledge returned in 1982, claiming he had done his "homework" by tracking conservative Democrats who might be persuaded to cross party lines. Rutledge commercials painted McCurdy as a profligate liberal. But McCurdy carried all 12 counties in the 4th, firmly establishing his hold on the district with 65 percent of the vote.

Dave McCurdy, D-Okla.

## Oklahoma 4

This slice of southwestern Oklahoma maintains a military presence that no politician can afford to forget for very long. In addition to Altus Air Force Base and the Army's Fort Sill, near the Texas border, map makers stretched the boundaries in 1981 to take in Tinker Air Force Base, just east of Oklahoma City. With a combined civilian and military staff of 24,000, Tinker is Oklahoma's largest single-site employer. Its inclusion reinforces the 4th's conservative sentiment.

Despite the military orientation, Democratic candidates usually carry the 4th; Sen. David Boren polled 72 percent of its vote — his best showing statewide — in his 1978 Senate bid. But two years later Ronald Reagan carried the district and helped Republican Senate nominee Don Nickles take the 4th by a narrow margin. The GOP's surest foothold lies at the district's northern end, in the Oklahoma City suburbs of Moore and Midwest City.

In recent years, Oklahoma's energy boom has brought new oil and gas busi-

## Southwest — part of Oklahoma City

nesses to the many of the district's southwestern counties. Map makers increased the district's share of cotton and cattle territory, bringing in farmland in Garvin, Stephens, Jefferson and Cotton counties. Economic growth also is occurring at the 4th's northern end in Norman, where the University of Oklahoma is drawing high-technology industries.

Much of the district's 24 percent population growth in the past decade came in the counties close to Oklahoma City, including Cleveland, McClain and Grady. With 80,000 people, Lawton (Comanche County) is the 4th's largest city and a commercial center of southwest Oklahoma; Fort Sill is located nearby.

Population: 505,869. White 441,346 (87%), Black 31,953 (6%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 15,603 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,256 (1%). Spanish origin 16,368 (3%). 18 and over 356,658 (71%), 65 and over 47,534 (9%). Median age: 27.

## Committees

**Armed Services** (17th of 28 Democrats)  
Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems; Readiness.

**Science and Technology** (16th of 26 Democrats)  
Energy Development and Applications; Science, Research and Technology.

**Select Intelligence** (9th of 9 Democrats)  
Program and Budget Authorization.

## Elections

**1982 General**  
Dave McCurdy (D) 84,205 (65%)  
Howard Rutledge (R) 44,351 (34%)

**1980 General**  
Dave McCurdy (D) 74,245 (51%)  
Howard Rutledge (R) 71,339 (49%)

### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	58,544 (36%)	D	82,330 (54%)
R	95,129 (60%)	R	67,060 (44%)
I	6,778 (4%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
McCurdy (D)	\$333,815	\$112,564 (34%)	\$315,203
Rutledge (R)	\$207,008	\$22,550 (11%)	\$181,220

### 1980

McCurdy (D)	\$232,293	\$39,900 (17%)	\$229,248
Rutledge (R)	\$164,589	\$21,340 (13%)	\$163,351

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	58	36	48	43	79	19
1981	57	42	55	43	88	12

S = Support

O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	25	64	28	62
1981	35	57	60	37

California - 23rd District

## Anthony C. Beilenson (D)

**Of Los Angeles — Elected 1976**

**Born:** Oct. 26, 1932, New Rochelle, N.Y.

**Education:** Harvard U., B.A. 1954; Harvard Law School, LL.B. 1957.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Wife, Dolores Martin; three children.

**Religion:** Jewish.

**Political Career:** Calif. Assembly, 1963-67; Calif. Senate, 1967-77; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 1968.

**Capitol Office:** 1025 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5911.

**In Washington:** An intellectual with the soft, resonant voice of an FM radio announcer, Beilenson has maintained a liberal voting record while demonstrating a pronounced skepticism about much of what government does. He is a man who likes to think for himself on any major issue — once he makes up his mind he does not seem to care whether there are four people on his side or 400.

In 1980 he cast the only vote in the House against a resolution reassuring Social Security recipients that Congress would not tax benefits. He said all ideas for helping out Social Security deserved consideration. The next year he was on the losing side as the House voted 394-2 to make it easier for former prisoners of war to receive veterans' benefits. Beilenson did not see why former POWs deserved priority over other veterans. Few House members of either party are as respected as Beilenson for their willingness to act out of conviction regardless of political interest. Sometimes, however, his convictions run up against the demands of partisan politics.

Toward the end of the 97th Congress, Beilenson was picked to chair a task force studying possible changes in the budget process. Former Rules Chairman Richard Bolling began the task force because he was concerned that too much power was in the hands of the Budget Committee.

Beilenson shared his view, but insisted that the panel should be totally non-partisan, with an aim toward making the process "less onerous and less time-consuming." In early 1983, he was ready to present his recommendations to the Rules Committee. His plan would give the Rules and Appropriations committees more say in the way the budget is put together.



But even if his ideas had been acceptable to the Democratic leadership, his timing was off. Moments before Beilenson was to present his plan, Speaker O'Neill asked the Rules Committee to postpone a vote, worried that a dispute over changing the process might have jeopardized Democratic unity on the 1983 budget itself, due to come to a decision shortly.

Beilenson brought two special legislative interests with him from the California Assembly — family planning and elephants. Concerned over world population problems, he has worked to increase federal funds for family planning clinics. And he has tried to ban trade in elephant tusk ivory to protect the endangered African elephant. His 1979 anti-ivory bill passed the House but died in the Senate.

Beilenson also has directed his attention to the issue of automobile safety. His strong pro-safety views have received little hearing, though, in a deregulatory-minded Congress. He has sponsored one bill requiring car manufacturers to post crash test results on all new cars and another requiring automakers to install a "high-mounted" brake light in the rear center of all new cars.

**At Home:** Beilenson was a 14-year veteran of the state Legislature when Democratic Rep. Thomas M. Rees announced his retirement from Congress in 1976. The district was ideal territory for Beilenson; his record suited him well to voters in some of the most liberal and heavily Jewish parts of Los Angeles.

Beilenson's one major obstacle was cleared away when Howard Berman, then the Assembly's majority leader, chose to remain in the Legislature in 1976. Berman had been seen as Rees' likely successor, and he would have had access to an organization difficult for Beilenson to match. But running against five other candi-

*Anthony C. Beilenson, D-Calif.*

## California 23

The 23rd District is divided geographically and culturally by the Santa Monica Mountains.

On the southern slope of one of the world's few urban mountain ranges are the lush, well-tended neighborhoods of Bel Air and Westwood, the home of the sprawling U.C.L.A. campus. To the east, at the foot of the mountains is Beverly Hills, and to the south, Century City, Rancho Park and West Los Angeles. These are, for the most part, the provinces of wealthy, liberal families, many of them Jewish. Older residents and young people living in small two-story apartment buildings are scattered through some of the area. They also vote Democratic.

On the other side of the Santa Monicas, where the ocean breezes seldom blow, is a different world. Here are the middle-class San Fernando Valley communities of Reseda, Tarzana, Canoga Park and Woodland Hills — flat, anonymous suburbs linked together by shopping centers and commercial strips. Although many of the voters in this area register as Democrats, most of them vote Republican.

## Beverly Hills; Part of San Fernando Valley

To create a new, solidly Democratic district to the east — the 26th — Beilenson's 23rd was pushed farther west in the San Fernando Valley into territory that for the last decade voted overwhelmingly for Republican Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr. The changes pushed the Democratic registration down from 63 to 57 percent, and a majority of the voters now live on the valley side.

Under the plan drawn up by Democrats for the 1984 elections, the 23rd will move even farther afield from its Beverly Hills base of the 1970s. Beverly Hills will continue to anchor the district's eastern end, but the district will stretch westward to the coast, picking up territory around Malibu. The new communities along the coast have Democratic registration advantages, but like other similar areas, they are not averse to voting Republican.

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Population: 526,007. White 466,648 (89%), Black 14,044 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 21,112 (4%). Spanish origin 48,853 (9%). 18 and over 426,336 (81%), 65 and over 66,676 (13%). Median age: 34.

dates, none of whom held public office, Beilenson was the clear front-runner.

Wallace Albertson, who headed the state's leading liberal organization, the California Democratic Council, criticized Beilenson for not being active enough in his support for Proposition 13, which would have restricted the development of nuclear power plants in the state. But Proposition 13 fared almost as poorly in the district as it did statewide, drawing 38 percent, and Albertson did even worse, finishing second in the primary with 21 percent to Beilenson's 58 percent.

Beilenson's first worrisome general election came in 1982, and it proved less difficult than had been expected. In order to draw a favorable district for Berman, who now wanted to run for Congress, map makers had removed part of the area near Beverly Hills from the 23rd and added conservative voters in the western San Fernando Valley; Beilenson complained that the change had hurt him badly.

Democrats who drew the district insisted Beilenson was panicking for no reason. "It's a good district for Tony," said the late Rep.

Phillip Burton, main architect of California's new congressional map. "He just doesn't know it. He's not a numbers guy." As it turned out, Burton was right.

Beilenson's Republican opponent was David Armor, a former analyst with the Rand Corporation. Armor had prepared a series of studies on the effects of school busing to achieve integration, and the studies had been used by anti-busing forces during Los Angeles' bitter struggle over the issue at the end of the 1970s. Republicans hoped Armor would do particularly well in the San Fernando section of the district, where anti-busing sentiment had been especially fierce.

With his Beverly Hills base relatively secure, however, Beilenson was able to put most of his effort into the communities new to him. Substantially outspending Armor, he took almost 60 percent of the vote, only a slight decline from his previous tallies.

Since he moved to the West Coast to practice law at age 25, Beilenson has met with only one political defeat. He was in the middle of his first state Senate term in 1968 when he

**California - 23rd District**

decided to run for the U.S. Senate as a peace candidate, criticizing former state Controller Alan Cranston for what he said was a lukewarm

anti-war position. Beilenson was second among five primary candidates, but more than a million votes behind Cranston.

**Committees**

Rules (5th of 9 Democrats)  
Rules of the House.

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Anthony C. Beilenson (D) 120,788 (60%)  
David Armor (R) 82,031 (40%)  
**1980 General**  
Anthony C. Beilenson (D) 126,020 (63%)  
Robert Winckler (R) 62,742 (32%)  
Jeffrey Lieb (LIB) 10,623 (5%)  
**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (66%) 1976 (60%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	83,686 (38%)	D	114,406 (50%)
R	107,985 (49%)	R	111,766 (49%)
I	21,880 (10%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Beilenson (D)	\$248,250	\$5,500 (2%)	\$274,303
Armor (R)	\$261,557	\$69,907 (27%)	\$228,222
<b>1980</b>			
Beilenson (D)	\$75,659	\$2,000 (3%)	\$861,192
Winckler (R)	\$9,726	\$4,575 (47%)	\$9,865

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	38	53	81	5	11	82
1981	30	64	79	8	8	80
1980	80	15	86	8	7	88
1979	77	21	88	6	5	90
1978	76	12	81	9	5	80
1977	66	22	83	7	4	90

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	?
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	95	17	84	19
1981	90	4	80	6
1980	94	21	68	39
1979	100	8	83	12
1978	80	8	79	31
1977	90	11	78	24

Wisconsin - 2nd District

## Robert W. Kastenmeier (D)

Of Sun Prairie — Elected 1958

**Born:** Jan. 24, 1924, Beaver Dam, Wis.  
**Education:** U. of Wis., LL.B. 1952.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1943-46.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Dorothy Chambers; three children.  
**Religion:** Unspecified.  
**Political Career:** Democratic nominee for U.S. House, 1956.  
**Capitol Office:** 2232 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2906.



In Washington: Kastenmeier does not attract the attention he did 20 years ago as a militant House liberal, but his specialties are still the same — equal rights and civil liberties.

These days, much of his energy is devoted to maintaining the status quo. As chairman of the Courts and Civil Liberties Subcommittee at Judiciary, he fights any proposed legislation to strip federal courts of jurisdiction over busing, school prayer and other controversial social issues. Kastenmeier has held hearings on some of these bills at various times in recent years, but he has never come close to scheduling any action on them. "These bills are merely a form of chastisement," he said while sitting on several of them in the 97th Congress.

During the early months of the Reagan administration, however, Kastenmeier found himself focusing on a different role, defending the Legal Services Corporation against White House efforts to replace it with a block grant system. The block-grants could have been used for any law enforcement purpose, not just for the original Legal Services commitment to providing legal aid to the poor. Kastenmeier was militantly opposed to the change.

To get the program reauthorized by the House, Kastenmeier had to accept several new rules restricting Legal Services lawyers, such as one barring them from filing class action suits, and a reduction in the corporation's budget. But the House voted to reauthorize the program in June of 1981, one of the few tangible victories up to that point for the liberal House critics of the Reagan administration.

In the end, no reauthorization passed the Senate, but Legal Services survived through the 97th Congress on stopgap funding from the Appropriations Committee.

Kastenmeier came to Congress as one of

the small cadre of 1950s peace activists. He complained about the anti-communist "witch hunts" of his state's former Republican senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, and said the "military-industrial complex" was out of control. With two former campaign aides, Marcus Raskin and Arthur Waskow, now well-known leftist writers, he set out to produce a manifesto to influence American foreign policy in the 1960s.

They began the Liberal Project and attracted 17 other congressmen who wanted to publish position papers on liberal issues. The 1960 election was not kind to them; 16 of the 18 were defeated. But Kastenmeier continued as head of the redrawn "Liberal Group" and a few years later published the Liberal Papers, calling for disarmament, admission of mainland China to the United Nations and an end to the draft. Republicans labeled them "apostles of appeasement" and most Democrats ignored them. Since then, Kastenmeier has kept a lower profile both inside the House and out. But many of the ideas were accepted eventually.

Kastenmeier is as conservative in his personal style as he is liberal in ideology. A dull speaker with a distaste for flamboyance, he is often overshadowed on Judiciary by members who express their views more militantly.

His timing has been unusual. His opposition to the Vietnam War was so far ahead of public opinion that by the time the anti-war fervor reached its peak, Kastenmeier had been through it already. He was consistent in his support for the anti-war movement, but he was never a national leader in it.

Early in his career, Kastenmeier and his allies in the Liberal Group — Don Edwards and Phillip Burton of California — worked on efforts to democratize House procedure. But

Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis.

## Wisconsin 2

## South — Madison

Republicans have most of the land in the 2nd, and Democrats have most of the voters. While the district covers a sizable portion of southern Wisconsin's Republican-voting rural areas, its centerpiece is the traditionally Democratic city of Madison in Dane County.

The 1980 election serves as an example of the GOP's frustration. Even though Kastenmeier lost every county except Dane, his 3-to-2 edge there was sufficient to lift him to victory.

Madison, the state capital and second largest city in Wisconsin, has its share of industry; meat processor Oscar Mayer, for example, employs more than 3,500 in its Madison plant. But the city's personality is dominated by its white-collar sector — the bureaucrats who work in local and state government, the 2,300 educators and 40,000 students at the University of Wisconsin, and the large number of insurance company home offices, so many that Madison calls itself a midwestern Hartford.

Madison boasts a tradition of political liberalism. Since 1924, when Robert M. La Follette carried Dane County as the Progressive Party's presidential candidate, Democrats nearly always have won there. In 1972, George McGovern won 58 percent in Dane County, and eight years later Democratic Sen. Gaylord Nelson took two-thirds

of the vote there while losing statewide.

Outside the Madison area, agriculture and tourism sustain the district's economy. Dairying is important, and there is some beef production, although many livestock farmers have switched in recent years to raising corn as a cash crop.

In New Glarus (Green County), which was founded by the Swiss, the downtown area has been redone to resemble a village in the mother country. Wisconsin Dells (Columbia County) lures big-city tourists to view the steep ridges and high plateaus along the Wisconsin River.

The majority of farmers and townfolk in the district are conservative, and they chafe at Madison's dominance of district politics. Ronald Reagan's conservatism found many followers in the rural areas of the district. In 1980 Reagan won six of the eight counties partly or wholly within the 2nd, leaving only Dane and its western neighbor, Iowa County, in Jimmy Carter's column. But the wide Democratic margin in Dane enabled Carter to carry the district.

Population: 523,011. White 509,003 (97%), Black 6,051 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,670 (1%). Spanish origin 4,233 (1%). 18 and over 383,086 (73%), 65 and over 55,870 (11%). Median age: 29.

here too, Kastenmeier did not play a leading role when the changes were actually made a decade later. By then, he had turned his attention to legal work on Judiciary. He supported the procedural reforms but was not publicly associated with them by most members.

In part, that reflects Kastenmeier's reluctance to involve himself in confrontations. In recent years, at least, he has not been one of the more aggressive or conspicuous liberal Democrats in the House. Like many civil libertarians, Kastenmeier was disturbed by FBI tactics in the 1980 Abscam bribery scandal. But while he was pondering the issue, Edwards went ahead and held hearings that drew national attention to the issue of FBI entrapment.

While his friends plunged themselves into controversy during the 1970s, Kastenmeier worked on the technicalities of copyright law, producing the first comprehensive revision in

that field in more than 60 years and guiding it through nearly a decade of debate.

In the 97th Congress, Kastenmeier again spent most of his time on some technical and little noticed — although potentially important — pieces of legislation. He managed to move them through Judiciary, only to find the road to enactment strewn with obstacles.

The committee easily approved a bill establishing longer patent protection for drug manufacturers, who often have to spend years waiting for federal approval before they can market their products. Because Kastenmeier feared weakening amendments, he brought the bill to the floor under amendment-proof "suspension" procedures that required two-thirds approval for passage. Heavy lobbying by generic drug producers denied it the two-thirds, and it died.

Kastenmeier's bill to clarify copyright li-

*Wisconsin - 2nd District*

ability for cable TV stations did pass the House, supported by the cable industry as well as the National Association of Broadcasters, but the Senate never took it up. One Kastenmeier product that did become law in the 97th Congress was a bill making piracy of phonograph records a federal crime, punishable by imprisonment.

Kastenmeier also has served most of his career on the Interior Committee, but devoted considerably less time to its work. For years he was a willing environmentalist vote to back up Burton and Chairman Morris K. Udall on issues such as strip mining, creating wilderness areas in Alaska, and expansion of the California redwoods park. He left Interior at the start of 1983.

Kastenmeier admits that he and other House liberals have modified the approach of 20 years ago. "We are less pretentious," he has said. "We don't presume to accomplish as much. We, in the context of the House of Representatives, ought to try to be reasonably effective. We feel we ought to be the cutting edge of American liberalism in the body politic, yet there is even a limitation to that."

**At Home:** It is no longer possible for Kastenmeier to win re-election easily on the mere strength of his opposition to the Vietnam War or his support for the impeachment of President Nixon. He has to take campaigning almost as seriously as he did in the early years of his career. But his seat seems secure for now.

After dropping to 54 percent of the vote in 1980 and losing every county in the district except Dane, home of the University of Wisconsin, he bounced back with a solid 61 percent in 1982.

Although Kastenmeier never has seemed very comfortable campaigning, he now does the things that endangered Democrats have been doing for years. In 1980 he hired a professional campaign manager for the first time.

The son of an elected minor-official from Dodge County, Kastenmeier took only a limited interest in politics until he was nearly 30 years old. Then he became the Democratic chairman of the second-smallest county in the

district, and three years later, in 1956, decided to run for the seat left open by Republican Glenn R. Davis, who ran for the Senate. Kastenmeier lost to GOP nominee Donald E. Tewes by a 55-45 margin. But in 1958, with two of Wisconsin's most popular Democrats — William Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson — running on the statewide ticket, many Republicans in the 2nd District stayed home and Kastenmeier won.

Kastenmeier's first three elections were hotly contested affairs that included accusations that the Democrat was sympathetic to communists. In his first successful campaign, in 1958, he was helped by farm discontent with the policies of the Eisenhower administration.

After 1964 redistricting removed Milwaukee's suburban Waukesha County from the district, Kastenmeier's percentages shot up. In 1970, when the old charges were updated to include criticism that Kastenmeier was "soft on radical students," the incumbent won by his highest percentage ever.

Kastenmeier had few problems for a full decade after that. But in 1980, his refusal to back away from any of his liberal views opened him to Republican assault as being out of step with the new fiscal conservatism. Those attacks, made by his challenger, former yo-yo manufacturer James A. Wright, had particular appeal in the farming communities that surround Madison. Only Kastenmeier's strong support in the Madison university community allowed him to survive the 1980 contest, in which Nelson went down to defeat at the statewide level.

In 1982 Republicans nominated a more moderate candidate, tax consultant Jim Johnson, who tried to appeal to Madison and avoided the Reagan-style rhetoric that Wright had used. But the issues were moving back in Kastenmeier's direction. Much of the anti-government feeling of the previous election had subsided, and the issue with the strongest emotional appeal was the nuclear freeze. Wisconsin voted overwhelmingly for the freeze, and Kastenmeier was one of its most vocal supporters.

**Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis.****Committees**

**Judiciary** (3rd of 20 Democrats)  
 Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice (chairman).  
 Civil and Constitutional Rights.

**Elections****1982 General**

Robert Kastenmeier (D) 112,677 (61%)  
 Jim Johnson (R) 71,989 (39%)

**1980 General**

Robert Kastenmeier (D) 142,037 (54%)  
 James Wright (R) 119,514 (45%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (58%) 1976 (66%)

1974 (65%) 1972 (68%) 1970 (69%) 1968 (60%)  
 1966 (58%) 1964 (64%) 1962 (53%) 1960 (53%)  
 1958 (52%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	124,236 (47%)	D	124,106 (51%)
R	106,003 (40%)	R	109,405 (45%)
I	25,513 (10%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Kastenmeier (D)	\$319,055	\$152,359 (48%)	\$326,450
Johnson (R)	\$268,092	\$47,484 (18%)	\$270,602
<b>1980</b>			
Kastenmeier (D)	\$243,465	\$97,381 (40%)	\$225,706
Wright (R)	\$294,214	\$117,624 (40%)	\$292,348

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	26	74	89	10	12	88
1981	22	75	89	11†	5	95
1980	71	26	89	10	9	87
1979	79	20	88	9†	6	92
1978	86	14	91	9	7	93
1977	76	23	87	12	14	85
1976	33	67	89	10	18	81
1975	31	65	86	11	15	82
1974 (Ford)	41	57				

1974	42	58	84	13	7	89
1973	26	73	87	12	11	87
1972	49	51	83	12	10	87
1971	26	72	88	9	2	94
1970	55	43	85	11	7	86
1969	45	51	82	15	7	89
1968	83	14	91	5	4	92
1967	80	16	87	9	2	96
1966	75	12	75	15	5	86
1965	86	7	90	8	2	98
1964	82	8	84	16	8	92
1963	84	13	81	15	7	93
1962	85	15	84	11	12	88
1961	94	6	93	5	9	87

S = Support

O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Rating**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	9	100	20
1981	95	13	80	5
1980	100	13	79	58
1979	95	4	95	0
1978	95	4	95	22
1977	100	15	74	24
1976	90	11	83	0
1975	100	18	91	6
1974	91	0	89	10
1973	100	20	82	9
1972	100	9	91	0
1971	95	11	82	-
1970	92	11	100	10
1969	93	19	100	-
1968	100	0	75	-
1967	93	11	100	10
1966	94	20	100	-
1965	100	0	-	10
1964	100	16	100	-
1963	-	6	-	-
1962	88	4	91	-
1961	100	-	-	-

*Virginia - 5th District*

## **Dan Daniel (D)**

**Of Danville — Elected 1968**

**Born:** May 12, 1914, Chatham, Va.  
**Education:** Attended Danville H.S.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1944.  
**Occupation:** Textile company executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Ruby McGregor; one child.  
**Religion:** Baptist.  
**Political Career:** Va. House, 1959-69.  
**Capitol Office:** 2368 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4711.



In Washington: Daniel has been a quiet, courtly hawk at Armed Services, voting unobtrusively for the highest possible level of defense funding. In recent years he has begun to take on a new role, as critic of Pentagon budgeting practices.

In 1978 he took over as chairman of a select subcommittee to examine "NATO standardization," the drive of Ford and Carter administration officials to reduce the number of different kinds of equipment being used to defend Europe.

The next year, his panel issued a report complaining that standardization was forcing American troops in the field to depend on inferior European equipment and that the Pentagon should insist on top quality purchases regardless of cost.

That led Daniel to the issue of readiness. During the 96th Congress, he and Democrat Bob Carr of Michigan, one of the committee's handful of Pentagon critics, teamed up to demand more funds for basic maintenance in the defense budget. They argued that money was being diverted from maintenance to pay for new weapons.

In 1980, Congress enacted a Daniel-sponsored requirement that maintenance be given its own separate section in each defense authorization bill. In 1981 Daniel became chairman of a new Armed Services subcommittee established to handle that part of the bill.

Daniel has favored letting the Pentagon buy planes and missiles in large lots spread over several years. In the past, it has contracted separately for each year's batch of weapons. Pentagon officials have asked for the multi-year approach, arguing it would lower the cost of weapons, and Daniel has backed them up. His support for multi-year procurement has brought him into conflict with Jack Brooks of Texas, the Government Operations chairman, who feels that approach essentially removes an

important tool of congressional control.

Daniel rarely talks about subjects outside the military field. Despite a friendly personal relationship with Speaker O'Neill, he seldom gives the Democratic leadership a vote on any major issue. He backed all of President Reagan's economic programs in the 97th Congress.

The one non-military initiative Daniel has mounted in recent years dealt with loyalty to the U.S. government. A constituent of Daniel's who was a member of the Communist Workers' Party applied for a federally funded job under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Daniel offered an amendment to two budget resolutions banning CETA employment for anyone advocating the violent overthrow of the federal government. The woman insisted she did not personally advocate such a thing, but the restriction became law.

**At Home:** Daniel is more comfortable philosophically with his Republican colleagues in the Virginia delegation than the new breed of Democrats elected in 1982. He admits that his Democratic seniority is the main reason he has not joined the GOP himself.

Daniel has come a long way. The son of a sharecropper, he started his career at a Danville textile mill as a blue-collar worker and ended it as assistant to the chairman of the board.

While he is not a dynamic force in Congress, he has cut a large figure in state and national civic organizations, serving as president of the Virginia state Chamber of Commerce and national commander of the American Legion.

A Dixiecrat in many respects, Daniel was a leader in the state's short-lived resistance to desegregation in the 1950s. In the following decade, he was a Byrd machine stalwart in the state Legislature.

## Virginia 5

The 5th is in the heart of Virginia's rural "Southside," a largely agricultural region that more closely resembles the Deep South than any other part of the state. It is relatively poor and has a substantial black population. Tobacco and soybeans are major crops, but this region lacks the rich soil of the Tidewater.

Though the 5th continues to support conservative Democrats like Daniel, it has long refused to vote for more liberal Democratic candidates at the state and national level. It was one of only two districts in Virginia to back George C. Wallace in 1968 and has not supported a Democrat for president in more than a quarter-century. Barry Goldwater carried it in 1964 with 51 percent of the vote.

In the closely contested U.S. Senate race in 1982, the district went narrowly for Republican Rep. Paul S. Trible Jr. over Democratic Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis.

The district's largest city is Danville, (population 45,642), a tobacco market and textile center on the North Carolina border. Ronald Reagan received 61 percent of the vote in Danville in 1980. The residents of

## South — Danville

the city and those of surrounding Pittsylvania County, which Reagan took by 2-to-1, make up about one-fifth of the district's population.

Most of the people in the 5th are scattered through farming areas and a few factory towns. Most of these areas normally vote Republican at the statewide level. The best area for Democratic candidates is Henry County; with nearly 58,000 residents, it is the second most populous county in the district after Pittsylvania, its eastern neighbor. Jimmy Carter won it with 49 percent in 1980. In the 1982 Senate race, Davis took the county with 53 percent of the vote.

To the north, the district takes in part of Lynchburg. That section of Lynchburg and its southern neighbor, Campbell County, are strongly conservative areas where Reagan won two-thirds of the 1980 vote.

Population: 531,308. White 398,091 (75%), Black 131,482 (25%). Spanish origin 3,753 (1%). 18 and over 382,312 (72%), 65 and over 63,859 (12%). Median age: 32.

Daniel came to Congress in 1968, when veteran Democratic Rep. William M. Tuck, a former governor and staunch conservative, retired and endorsed him. While George C. Wallace was carrying the district in the year's

presidential balloting, Daniel easily outdistanced his Republican and black independent opponents with 55 percent of the vote. He faced a feeble GOP challenge in 1970 and no one has filed against him since.

### Committees

Armed Services (5th of 28 Democrats)  
Readiness (chairman); Investigations.

### Elections

1982 General  
Dan Daniel (D) Unopposed

1980 General  
Dan Daniel (D) Unopposed

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (100%) 1976 (100%)  
1974 (99%) 1972 (100%) 1970 (73%) 1968 (55%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	73,569 (42%)	D	77,138 (48%)
R	97,203 (55%)	R	78,306 (49%)
I	3,660 (2%)		

1977	33	66	19	81	97	3
1976	75	25	12	88	98	1
1975	70	30	15	84	98	1
1974 (Ford)	56	44				
1974	64	36	16	84†	93	6
1973	66	34	19	81	100	0
1972	57	41	17	80	94	6
1971	77	23	25	74	97	2
1970	64	36†	24	74	91	—
1969	45	55	20	76	96	2

S = Support O = Opposition

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981) Y  
Legal services reauthorization (1981) N  
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981) N  
Index income taxes (1981) Y  
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982) Y  
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982) ?  
Delete MX funding (1982) N

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Daniel (D)	\$74,954	\$51,965 (69%)	\$24,084
1980			
Daniel (D)	\$20,383	\$18,010 (88%)	\$7,747

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1962	70	19	19	76	88	4
1961	78	20	15	81	93	4
1960	37	62	27	70	93	3
1979	30	69	15	82	94	4
1978	22	75	16	81	95	2

Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982) N  
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983) N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	77	11	71
1981	0	83	13	89
1980	6	92	11	82
1979	5	100	10	100
1978	0	96	5	89
1977	0	93	9	94
1976	5	96	13	88
1975	0	100	4	88
1974	0	80	0	90
1973	4	85	18	100
1972	0	100	10	100
1971	3	93	8	—
1970	0	79	14	100
1969	7	94	20	—

New Jersey - 8th District

## Robert A. Roe (D)

Of Wayne — Elected 1969

**Born:** Feb. 28, 1924, Wayne, N.J.

**Education:** Attended Ore. State U. and Wash. State U.

**Military Career:** Army, World War II.

**Occupation:** Construction company owner.

**Family:** Single.

**Religion:** Roman Catholic.

**Political Career:** Wayne Township committeeman, 1955-56; mayor of Wayne Township, 1956-61; Passaic County freeholder, 1959-63; sought Democratic nomination for governor, 1977 and 1981.

**Capitol Office:** 2243 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5751.



**In Washington:** Known for most of his House career as a stubborn and aggressive proponent of federal jobs programs, Roe changed his emphasis in the 97th Congress by giving up his Economic Development Subcommittee on Public Works to become chairman of a subcommittee on water policy.

It was a sensible move politically. New Jersey had been having serious drought problems, and Roe was in the midst of a gubernatorial campaign in which he could draw useful attention with the issue. Roe also knew something about water — he was a former state conservation commissioner, and he had been instrumental in the writing of the 1972 Water Pollution Control Act.

The campaign did not turn out as Roe hoped it would. By June 1981, he was back in the House full-time, having finished a distant second in the Democratic primary behind his House colleague, James J. Florio. But Water Resources remains an important subcommittee, and Roe brings to it a different emphasis from the one it has had in the past.

Most of the other water specialists at Public Works have been Southerners and Westerners interested in authorizing as many new flood control and irrigation projects as possible for their parts of the country. Roe is more interested in pollution and other urban water problems, less likely to want to spend money on dams in sparsely populated parts of the country. For most of the 97th Congress, Roe talked of the need for longterm reforms in federal water policy. No major changes were made, but the issue has not gone away.

Roe's panel also devoted much of 1981 and 1982 to arguments over federal subsidies for sewage treatment. The Reagan administration wanted to scale sewage subsidies back drasti-

cally, especially those used for planning sewage treatment facilities to deal with future growth.

Roe initially opposed any efforts to cut subsidies for ongoing sewage treatment programs. "We're afraid the administration wants to reform the program out of existence," he complained, saying states had gone heavily into debt to finance them in the expectation of federal help. But the panel eventually did agree to cut back on the federal share of the money.

For years before his subcommittee switch, Roe talked largely about public works jobs. Most urban Democrats of Roe's generation share his belief in public works as a cure for economic stagnation, but few pursued it with the zeal that he did, or maintained it as stubbornly in the face of formidable opposition.

It was Roe who inserted \$2 billion in public works jobs money into President Carter's bill to expand the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in the 96th Congress. It was also Roe who jeopardized the entire package by his reluctance to accept it without the public works.

The hybrid legislation passed the House in 1979 by a wide margin, but the Senate wanted the EDA bill only. Conferences were held off and on over the following year, but Roe would accept an agreement only if the jobs section remained in the bill. The Carter administration, which did not want the jobs money, finally agreed. But the Senate was adamant against it.

Just before Congress recessed for the 1980 election, Roe appeared willing to bargain. But when Ronald Reagan was elected president, Republicans said they preferred to wait on the entire proposal until the new administration took office, simultaneously dooming both EDA expansion and public works jobs.

In 1975, the year he took over the Eco-

Robert A. Roe, D-N.J.

## New Jersey 8

### North — Paterson

To Alexander Hamilton, the Great Falls of the Passaic River was an ideal location for a factory town. Then Treasury secretary, he set up the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures in 1791 to build Paterson.

In time, the thriving "Silk City" became one of the world's leading textile producers, attracting Irish, Polish, Italian and Russian craftsmen to work the looms. It also played out a history of labor strife and strong unions whose influence lives on.

Nowadays, though, much of the industry is gone, leaving widespread unemployment and unsavory slums. A majority of the population is black or Hispanic, and there is chronic racial tension. In 1967 black boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was found guilty of killing three white patrons in the Lafayette Grill in Paterson, and his conviction nearly provoked a riot. A decade later, the Lafayette Grill was called the Zodiac Lounge, and its clientele and neighborhood were exclusively black.

Paterson still contains 25 percent of the district's electorate, despite its severe population decline, and it is firmly Democratic. The only recent exception has been the success of moderate Republican Lawrence "Pat" Kramer, the city's mayor for the late 1960s and much of the 1970s. Kramer retired in 1982, after losing the 1981 GOP

gubernatorial primary, and was replaced by a Democrat.

Paterson and the rest of southern Passaic County provide the Democratic vote in the 8th. The Passaic County suburbs next to Paterson, such as Clifton and Haledon, are where the white ethnics went when they fled the city. They still vote Democratic. Down the Passaic River lies the city of Passaic, a smaller but equally troubled version of Paterson whose textile employment also has evaporated.

In the northern half of the hourglass-shaped county, the terrain is more suburban. The subdivisions of Wayne Township usually vote Republican but have made an exception for favorite son Roe. Proceeding northwest from Wayne, however, suburban Bloomingdale and other suburbs cast a solid Republican vote.

In Bergen County, the 8th includes Garfield and Wallington, two old mill towns. These communities have more in common with the blue-collar neighborhoods of Passaic County than with affluent Bergen.

Population: 526,138. White 429,301 (82%), Black 60,361 (12%), Asian and Pacific Islander 5,696 (1%). Spanish origin 67,849 (13%). 18 and over 383,151 (73%), 65 and over 61,931 (12%). Median age: 32.

nomic Development Subcommittee, Roe managed his first major public works package, part of it aimed at creation of 250,000 jobs and part at stimulating investment. When the bill went to conference, he added an interesting new wrinkle — a provision, not discussed on the floor of either chamber, to make cities of 50,000 or more eligible to be economic redevelopment areas under legislation then a decade old. Roe's district is dominated by declining industrial cities of modest size. The bill was enacted in 1976 over President Ford's veto.

By 1978, however, critics were complaining that the traditional public works jobs programs, emphasizing capital spending, were wasteful. President Carter proposed \$1 billion worth of new public works jobs, designed to be labor-intensive and focus on unemployment among the disadvantaged. Roe's solution was to approve that amount, and add his own \$2

billion for capital-intensive jobs, which he said was needed to move Carter's program through the House. The legislation died at the end of the 95th Congress, setting the stage for the EDA-jobs fight that occupied Roe and his subcommittee for most of the next two years.

**At Home:** Pork barrel politics has endeared Roe to his constituents, especially to the labor unions that benefit from the jobs his programs have created.

Thanks to his public works legislation, the district has received a large number of new town halls, fire stations and other municipal structures — which have generated a lot of construction employment. Using his influence, Roe also has put together federal grants to save a failing plant and to restore the historic Great Falls area in Paterson.

Roe's strength in Passaic County has provided him with a base for his forays into

## New Jersey - 8th District

statewide politics, but not enough of one to bring him his goal — the Democratic nomination for governor. New Jersey chooses its governors in off-years for congressional elections, so its congressmen can seek the statehouse without having to give up their places in Washington.

Roe has tried twice. In 1977 he ran a strong race in the primary against incumbent Democrat Brendan T. Byrne, coming within 40,000 votes of denying Byrne renomination. That showing made him a front-runner in 1981, when his main competition came from Florio, another member of the U.S. House delegation.

In the end, however, Florio defeated him easily. Better on television than Roe and well enough financed to spread his commercials across the state, Florio took the nomination by more than 150,000 votes. Roe had refused public financing and tried to make an issue of the state's public financing system. It never caught on, and the decision left him underfinanced at the end of the campaign. Roe was again second, but it was a distant second.

In Passaic, however, Roe remains on top. His watchwords are caution and harmony, and

whenever feuding flares among various Democratic factions, he can be counted on to play a peacemaker's role. Customarily, the disputants meet at the Brownstone House restaurant in Paterson, where the garrulous Roe acts as negotiator.

Roe habitually wins re-election by whopping margins. Republicans seldom bother to put up strong candidates against him. He often does well in the district's GOP towns, in addition to pulling his usual big vote in the blue-collar Democratic bastions.

Part of the reason for his appeal in the Republican suburbs may be that Roe is not a product of urban Paterson, the district's biggest town and a home of organization politics. He comes from suburban Wayne Township, which swings between the two parties. He likes to boast that he knows all levels of government, having served at each of them — municipal, county, state and federal.

Roe initially won his House seat in a tight 1969 special election to fill the unexpired term of Democrat Charles S. Joelson, who became a state judge. Since then, he always has won re-election with better than 60 percent of the vote.

## Committees

**Public Works and Transportation** (3rd of 30 Democrats)  
Water Resources (chairman); Economic Development; Investigations and Oversight.

**Science and Technology** (2nd of 26 Democrats)  
Energy Development and Applications; Energy Research and Production; Investigations and Oversight.

## Elections

## 1982 General

Robert A. Roe (D) 89,980 (71%)  
Norm Robertson (R) 36,317 (29%)

## 1980 General

Robert A. Roe (D) 95,493 (67%)  
William Cleveland (R) 44,625 (31%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (74%) 1976 (71%)  
1974 (74%) 1972 (63%) 1970 (61%) 1969\* (49%)

\* Special election.

## District Vote For President

	1980	1976
D	67,435 (37%)	85,379 (45%)
R	100,672 (55%)	100,718 (53%)
I	12,521 (7%)	

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Roe (D)	\$151,918	\$103,465 (68%)	\$150,007
Robertson (R)	\$32,634	0	\$32,269

Amend Constitution to require balanced budget: (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	75	13	90	55
1981	60	24	100	17
1980	67	17	83	59
1979	58	4	95	18

## 1980

Roe (D)	\$161,755	\$65,315 (40%)	\$156,369
Cleveland (R)	\$12,188	\$700 (6%)	\$11,956

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	35	60	83	12	33	66
1981	39	39	70	16	36	51
1980	66	23	81	12	32	59
1979	68	26	81	16	34	60
1978	63	31	74	22	30	66
1977	42	18	51	11	14	45
1976	29	71	83	13	28	69
1975	33	67	80	16	25	72
1974 (Ford)	39	50				
1974	40	55	78	15	22	69
1973	31	64	80	11	15	74
1972	54	43	83	13	27	72
1971	44	51	73	20	27	69
1970	57	32	71	21	20	59
1969	47	53†	86	14†	19	81†

S = Support O = Opposition

†Not eligible for all recorded votes.

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y

1978	35	19	85	22
1977	35	6	93	11
1976	70	14	87	6
1975	79	18	87	24
1974	65	21	90	13
1973	68	22	100	8
1972	63	48	91	20
1971	73	31	91	-
1970	80	28	71	11
1969*	75	29	100	-

\* Did not serve for entire period covered by voting studies.

California - 36th District

## George E. Brown Jr. (D)

**Of Riverside — Elected 1962**  
Did not serve 1971-73.

**Born:** March 6, 1920, Holtville, Calif.  
**Education:** U. of Calif., Los Angeles, B.A. 1946.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1942-46.  
**Occupation:** Physicist.  
**Family:** Wife, Rowena Somerindyke; four children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** Monterey Park mayor, 1954-58; Calif. Assembly, 1959-63; sought Democratic U.S. Senate nomination, 1970.  
**Capitol Office:** 2256 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6161.



**In Washington:** Brown has pursued his liberal principles through two very different careers in the House, punctuated by a one-term absence following his defeat for the Senate in 1970.

Watching Brown in action today, as he listens patiently to testimony on the budget for science research or ponders amendments to a farm bill, it is easy to forget the militant anti-war crusader of the 1960s. At first glance, he seems to be a different man. But he is simply a mellowed version of the same man.

Never a radical on domestic issues, Brown became a peace advocate during his days as a scientist, and argued his cause from the start of his first term, in 1963, when he opposed extension of the draft as it passed the House 388-3. He voted against money for civil defense, charging that it "created a climate in which nuclear war becomes more credible" and in 1966 cast the only vote in the House against a \$58 billion defense funding bill.

He was already speaking out against the Vietnam War in the spring of 1965, when he accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of pretending "that the peace of mankind can be won by the slaughter of peasants in Vietnam." He continued to talk that way through the next five years in the House, both on the floor and at outside rallies. He refused to vote for any military appropriations bill while the war continued and once boasted that he had opposed more federal spending than any member in history.

Brown's anti-war work gave him a national reputation during those years, but much of his legislative time was devoted to environmental issues. He introduced a bill in 1969 to ban

offshore oil drilling along the California coast, and he backed federal land use planning. He proposed outlawing the production of internal combustion engines after a three-year period.

Environmentalism is the link between Brown's two House careers. When he returned as a freshman in 1973, U.S. participation in the war was ending. He settled quietly into the Agriculture and Science committees and followed his issues without seeking much public attention. Since 1973, he has not been one of the more visible members of the House.

But he has been busy. Much of his work has been in defense of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), whose programs are authorized through the Science Committee. Brown has continually fought against cuts in the EPA budget; he has regularly introduced floor amendments adding extra money to fight air or water pollution. In 1981, when the House passed a bill cutting funds for pollution research by 18 percent, Brown was a dissenting voice, calling the reduction "irresponsible." He favors creation of a National Technology Foundation to parallel the National Science Foundation in commercial research.

Brown's suspicion of the military still comes out in his attitude toward the U.S. space program. He is a strong believer in exploration, but not in the military uses of space. In 1982 he complained that 20 percent of the budget of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was going to defense-related work. "This blatant and unabashed use of the civilian space agency for Defense Department purposes," he said, "is a shocking departure from the past."

Brown also has been a vehement opponent of the controversial Clinch River nuclear

George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif.

## California 36

Of the three districts covering the San Bernardino-Riverside metropolitan area, this is the only one a Democrat can win.

Since his 1972 comeback, Brown has been able to combine the votes of the blue-collar residents of Riverside and San Bernardino with those of the growing Mexican-American population in San Bernardino.

The burgeoning Republican suburban vote, particularly in the suburbs of Norco and Corona, was removed in the 1981 redistricting, along with a large part of the city of Riverside. Only the Democratic north side of Riverside remains in the new 36th District.

The San Bernardino side of the district — usually more favorable to Democrats — was expanded. Now, nearly three-quarters of the district vote comes from San Bernardino County.

The district extends westward to Ontario, which has grown into a booming, industrial city of 88,000, supporting a major commercial airport and large Lockheed and General Electric plants. In recent years, with jobs in the local defense plants hanging in the balance, Ontario voters have turned increasingly toward Republican candidates,

## San Bernardino; Riverside

both statewide and congressional.

The new 36th takes in all of San Bernardino's 118,000 inhabitants. More than 50 miles from Los Angeles, the city once marked the eastern terminus for the big red trolley cars of Los Angeles' Pacific Electric interurban rail system.

Today, San Bernardino residents have little contact with the Los Angeles area. A fruit-packing center in the 1930s, San Bernardino now forces its citrus industry to share space with the many electronics and aerospace firms in the area, as well as the Kaiser Steel Corporation's blast furnace in nearby Fontana. The steelworkers and the employees at the large Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad yards in San Bernardino usually provide enough votes to put the city and nearby Rialto and Colton into the Democratic column.

Population: 528,091. White 404,144 (77%), Black 42,407 (8%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 6,179 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,685 (1%). Spanish origin 123,049 (23%). 18 and over 363,372 (69%), 65 and over 48,660 (9%). Median age: 27.

breeder reactor. He sought to kill it in committee in 1977, joined the Carter administration in trying to deny funds for it in 1979, and was on the winning side as the Science Committee voted against it in early 1981. Later the full House voted against Clinch River, although it was kept alive in a House-Senate conference.

In the 97th Congress, however, Brown's most visible role was on the Agriculture Committee, as the frustrated chairman of the subcommittee handling renewal of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. That argument pitted pesticide manufacturers against environmentalists demanding more regulation of the industry. Brown was the referee, but he was not a happy one. "If this ever comes up again while I am on the committee," he said at one point, "I hope you will refer it to another subcommittee."

As the bill left Agriculture in 1982, it had two provisions that the pesticide industry wanted but Brown did not particularly like. One would have limited public access to information about potentially dangerous chemi-

cals; the other would have restricted state control over the industry. Both provisions were eventually removed on the House floor, with Brown's approval, and the bill passed the House easily. But it died in the Senate.

On other domestic issues, Brown has been casting liberal votes, much as he did during the 1960s. But on a few occasions, he has cast pragmatic pro-defense votes he might have denounced a decade ago. In 1980 he began voting for production of the B-1 bomber. "If the B-1 was being built in some other state," he explained afterward, "and I didn't have two Air Force bases and a lot of retired military people who feel strongly about the B-1, I'd probably have voted the other way."

**At Home:** Brown's 1970 Senate campaign divides his electoral career the same way it has split his Washington career. Before 1970, Brown's political career revolved around the heavily Hispanic community of Monterey Park. The more recent phases have focused on middle-class politics in San Bernardino, 50 miles east.

**California - 36th District**

Born in a small town in California's Imperial Valley, Brown moved to Los Angeles to attend college, then settled in Monterey Park after getting his physics degree. While working for the Los Angeles city government, he began to dabble in Monterey Park politics, and moved from the Monterey Park Democratic Club to the town's mayoralty. After four years on the City Council and in the mayor's office, he was elected to the state Assembly, where he focused on housing issues.

In 1962 the new 29th Congressional District was created on Brown's home turf. He easily defeated two strong primary opponents and Republican H. L. "Bill" Richardson in the general election.

Once he developed his reputation as an anti-war leader, Brown attracted a series of opponents — Democrats and Republicans — who challenged him on the Vietnam issue. His closest call came in 1966 against Republican Bill Orozco, who capitalized on his Mexican-American heritage and support for the gubernatorial campaign of Ronald Reagan. Brown won by 3,000 votes out of 135,000 cast.

In 1968 Orozco ran again. But redistricting had added territory on the district's east side, giving Brown more Anglo voters, and even though Republicans made it a high priority contest, Brown doubled his plurality. Still, it was clear Brown would have tough races in future years.

Rather than run again for what had become a marginal seat, Brown decided in 1970 to take on GOP Sen. George Murphy. But to do that he had to wage a primary against fellow U.S. Rep. John V. Tunney, son of former boxing champion Gene Tunney.

After American troops invaded Cambodia that spring, polls began to show Brown moving into a slight lead over Tunney, who had been much less outspoken in his opposition to the war. Brown called for the impeachment of President Nixon because of the invasion. Tunney then turned his aim on Brown, accusing him of being a radical and advocating student violence. Brown attempted to deflect what he termed Tunney's "dirty" tactics, but failed and lost by a 42-33 percent margin.

However, Brown exacted a revenge of sorts. His description of his opponent as the "lightweight son of the heavyweight champ" became part of California political folklore and helped end Tunney's career in 1976.

Brown's political resurrection came just two years after his failed Senate bid, in a newly created district in the San Bernardino-River-

side area. There it was middle-class white conservatives, not Mexican-Americans, who caused problems for Brown.

The 1972 Democratic primary in the new district was one of the fiercest battles in the state that year. Brown was attacked as an extreme liberal and as a carpetbagger by David Tunno, a Tunney protégé, and by the conservative chairman of the San Bernardino County Board, Ruben Ayala. But Brown won the eight-candidate primary by finishing second in all three parts of the district. His 28 percent of the vote was not very impressive, but it was enough to get him on the fall ballot as the Democratic candidate. The district was then about 63 percent Democratic in registration, and he was an easy winner in November.

After the 1974 redistricting put more of fast-growing and conservative Riverside County into the district, Brown had to rely increasingly on the portion of his district in San Bernardino County to carry him. In 1980, facing Republican John Paul Stark, a conservative whose organization came largely from the Campus Crusade for Christ, Brown was held below a majority in Riverside for the first time. His vote in San Bernardino County remained safely above 55 percent, allowing him to survive with 53 percent overall.

Brown's 1980 showing landed him on just about every Republican and New Right targeting list for 1982. Stark, whose performance the first time had given him credibility as a candidate, came back with the same corps of fundamentalists enthusiastically staffing his campaign. The Republican establishment, eager to do in a liberal in a part of Southern California that seemed to have abandoned liberalism, threw substantial support Stark's way.

But Brown was not to be caught napping twice. He began spending heavily on his campaign in 1981, firming up his base of support in friendly areas and wooing voters in more marginal communities. Severe economic problems made his attack on Stark's adherence to GOP economic policies all the sharper.

On Election Day, Brown did about a percentage point better than he had done within slightly different district lines two years before. But the results masked a significant change. Redistricting had left Brown with only Democratic areas of Riverside and had added more of San Bernardino County to the district. This time, Brown's greatest strength lay in Riverside County, where he pulled 57 percent of the vote; he took the San Bernardino portion by a much narrower margin.

George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif.

**Committees**

**Agriculture** (5th of 26 Democrats)  
Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture  
(chairman); Forests, Family Farms and Energy.

**Science and Technology** (3rd of 26 Democrats)  
Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Environment; Sci-  
ence, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applica-  
tions.

**Elections****1982 General**

George Brown Jr. (D) 76,546 (54%)  
John Stark (R) 64,361 (46%)

**1982 Primary**

George Brown Jr. (D) 38,054 (74%)  
Ron Hibble (D) 5,742 (11%)  
Jimmy Pineda (D) 7,382 (14%)

**1980 General**

George Brown Jr. (D) 88,634 (53%)  
John Stark (R) 73,252 (43%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (63%) 1976 (62%)  
1974 (63%) 1972 (56%) 1968 (52%) 1966 (51%)  
1964 (59%) 1962 (56%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	58,253 (40%)	D	73,491 (57%)
R	74,870 (51%)	R	53,212 (42%)
I	10,847 (7%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Brown (D)	\$413,482	\$120,485 (29%)	\$428,305
Stark (R)	\$193,208	\$55,075 (29%)	\$181,294
<b>1980</b>			
Brown (D)	\$86,317	\$27,646 (32%)	\$84,680
Stark (R)	\$28,497	\$875 (3%)	\$28,103

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	32	51	85	5	12	79

1981	38	57	77	10	19	75
1980	69	15	82	5	8	77
1979	74	13	83	5	10	75
1978	76	13	74	9	7	79
1977	70	14	81	4	6	78
1976	31	59	73	8	18	69
1975	37	60	81	10	11	76
1974 (Ford)	33	46				
1974	28	47	70	8	11	68
1973	30	61	82	8	10	80
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	29	31	39	15	2	36
1969	17	36	64	9	7	69
1968	41	16	43	7	4	39
1967	54	14	55	13	11	65
1966	42	11	46	8	5	43
1965	78	4	85	1	2	86
1964	81	2	73	2	0	67
1963	75	6	77	2	0	60

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	75	5	94	29
1981	85	5	86	12
1980	94	10	82	52
1979	84	0	74	12
1978	70	8	79	13
1977	80	4	90	6
1976	80	19	79	13
1975	89	4	100	24
1974	91	0	100	0
1973	88	13	91	18
1972	-	-	-	-
1971	-	-	-	-
1970	88	17	100	13
1969	87	25	89	-
1968	83	16	100	-
1967	87	11	100	11
1966	82	11	100	-
1965	95	0	-	10
1964	92	0	100	-
1963	-	0	-	-

New York - 28th District

## Matthew F. McHugh (D)

**Of Ithaca — Elected 1974**

**Born:** Dec. 6, 1938, Philadelphia, Pa.  
**Education:** Mount St. Mary's College, B.S. 1960;  
 Villanova Law School, J.D. 1963.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Eileen Alanna Higgins; three children.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Tompkins County District Attorney,  
 1969-72.  
**Capitol Office:** 2335 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6335.



**In Washington:** McHugh's quiet, serious pragmatism has made him a major player in the appropriations process and a figure of real respect among House Democrats. A man who wears a plain dark suit and a somber expression, he is not one of the more conspicuous younger members. But he has the implicit trust of most members, and he is unflappable even in the midst of the most trying negotiations.

He has found himself in a sensitive position on the Appropriations subcommittee that handles foreign aid. A strong personal supporter of Israel, he has sometimes had to negotiate between that country's even more militant backers and the growing anti-foreign aid faction in the House. Most of the time, even getting a foreign aid bill passed has been a difficult struggle.

In 1981 McHugh was a key player in bringing together a coalition that passed the first regular appropriation in three years. With a Republican president in office, conservative House Republicans who had attacked foreign aid for years suddenly came to its defense, and McHugh welcomed their support. As the process moved forward, McHugh emerged as the key man on the Democratic side, often eclipsing Clarence Long of Maryland, the subcommittee's eccentric and unpredictable chairman.

Differences remained, though, over the character of the aid. McHugh has long been a strong supporter of development aid, and particularly the International Development Association (IDA), the arm of the World Bank that makes loans to the poorest nations. Conservatives have long opposed IDA, because it lends to communist nations. But President Reagan came to office vowing to fulfill the U.S. obligation to pay \$3.24 billion to IDA.

McHugh negotiated through most of the summer of 1981, finally persuading the committee to approve Reagan's request of \$850 million for IDA in 1982. On the floor, some conservatives rebelled and tried to cut the appropriation to \$500 million; McHugh reluctantly supported a compromise of \$725 million, and held together the coalition. The figure was later cut to \$700 million.

Warning that the coalition in support of the measure was fragile, McHugh succeeded in blocking any further attempts to cut multilateral aid. He fought an amendment to prohibit "indirect" aid to certain communist nations.

The next year, the coalition splintered. McHugh and other influential Democrats were dismayed over the administration's request for increased military aid for 1983 and a supplement to the aid already passed for 1982. McHugh balked, saying the administration "should have known that people on this side would be deeply offended." Democrats on the panel succeeded in blocking the aid request.

Later that year, though, McHugh helped form a coalition to approve \$350 million for President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative. The aid was approved as part of a measure Reagan vetoed; Congress overrode the veto.

Despite the frustrating year in 1982, McHugh seemed hopeful that a bipartisan coalition could be resurrected for the 98th Congress. But he warned that "the administration has to have the support of Democrats, moderate to progressive Democrats. . . . Our interests and concerns have to be taken into account."

McHugh assumed leadership on foreign aid in 1978, his first year on the subcommittee. He and Wisconsin Democrat David R. Obey led the successful fight for the Carter administration's \$7.4 billion foreign aid request, over the

**Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y.**

## New York 28

The elongated 28th reaches from high above Cayuga's waters to high above those of the Hudson.

The Triple Cities of Binghamton, Johnson City and Endicott are industrial but politically marginal. This is the area in which Thomas J. Watson located his first IBM plant, and it still reflects some of the corporate paternalism the Watson family practiced for generations. Of the three, only Binghamton has a Democratic advantage in registration, and the difference there is small. In all three cities, conservative working-class voters, many of them Italian, join with white-collar technicians and professionals to form a potent bloc for the GOP. Binghamton elects Democrats to the New York Assembly but its state senator is the Senate's Republican leader. The small towns and farms of rural Delaware and Tioga counties add to the Republican totals.

McHugh's political base is Tompkins County, site of Cornell University in Ithaca. Cornell dominates Ithaca economically and politically. The picturesque Ivy League school, sitting on a hill overlooking Lake Cayuga, keeps the city Democratic and relatively liberal. The rural parts of the county

## Southern Tier — Binghamton; Ithaca

have a Republican tilt.

Sullivan County, the northern portion of which is in the 28th, is the only section of the district where Democrats enjoy a party registration majority, although the county frequently votes for statewide and national Republican candidates. Heavily Jewish, it contains many resort hotels, including Grossinger's. The presence of Sullivan County in the district makes McHugh's support for Israel not only politically feasible but helpful.

Redistricting consolidated Ulster County in the 28th, uniting portions of the county previously split among three districts. The eastern portion includes the county seat, Democratic-leaning Kingston, a textile town of 24,481 people. The county's other Democratic pocket — a small one — lies in Woodstock, the artists' colony that gave its name to the celebrated 1969 rock festival that actually was held in Bethel.

Population: 516,808. White 493,022 (95%), Black 14,337 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,313 (1%). Spanish origin 9,231 (2%). 18 and over 382,593 (74%), 65 and over 63,593 (12%). Median age: 30.

objections of Long, who wanted to slash the amount.

When that bill went to conference, Long and other House negotiators were adamant against Senate language providing for aid to Syria. It finally became law after McHugh added a provision authorizing the president to approve aid to Syria only if he thought it would "serve the process of peace in the Middle East."

The next year, McHugh was defending the entire foreign aid program on the House floor against budget-cutting assaults. When Ohio Republican Clarence E. Miller tried to reduce the funding by a flat 5 percent across-the-board, McHugh countered with a 2 percent reduction, exempting Egypt and Israel. That compromise passed.

On his other subcommittee, Agriculture Appropriations, McHugh defends his district's dairy farmers while pursuing some of his liberal social values. He was a strong advocate of distributing surplus cheese and butter to the poor.

Outside the Appropriations Committee, McHugh has remained committed to the reformist politics on which he and most of his 1974 class initially won election. In 1977, when there was discussion over a bill to provide partial public financing of House general elections, McHugh pushed for something stronger. He introduced his own bill covering primaries as well as general elections and sharply reducing private spending levels.

The next year, he called for a new Democratic Caucus rule requiring a vote in the caucus on whether any member disciplined by the House or convicted of a felony should retain his post. It was passed, with some modifications. Later the caucus approved a rule requiring indicted chairmen to step aside temporarily.

Beyond McHugh's personal reserve lies a reservoir of ambition. To make it to the Appropriations Committee in 1978, he had to win the support of the New York state Democratic delegation. That was a difficult task because the delegation is New York City-dominated,

**New York - 28th District**

and the seat's previous occupant was from Manhattan. There was already an active candidate from the city, James H. Scheuer. But McHugh campaigned assiduously and defeated Scheuer, 14-11, drawing several city votes.

He was less successful in 1980, when he tried to become chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. The other candidates, Gillis W. Long and Charlie Rose, were both Southerners, and he saw an opening for a moderate liberal from the Northeast. But he started late, and in challenging Long, he was up against one of the most popular members. McHugh finished a distant third, with 41 votes to 146 for Long and 53 for Rose.

In the 98th Congress, though, he has his first important leadership position — as chairman of the Democratic Study Group, the organization of liberal and moderate Democrats in the House. McHugh won it without opposition.

**At Home:** McHugh's victory in the 1974 Democratic sweep made him the first Democrat to represent the Binghamton area in this century. He succeeded a popular Republican, Howard W. Robison, promising to carry on in

the retiring Robison's moderate tradition. He was helped in that stance by the hard-line conservative campaign of his Republican opponent, Binghamton Mayor Alfred Libous.

In fact, Republicans have had a habit of putting up flawed challengers against McHugh. In 1978 and 1980, businessman Neil Tyler Wallace demonstrated an abrasive personality that cost him votes. In 1982 lawyer David F. Crowley seemed a bright and formidable challenger until he committed a series of gaffes that doomed his candidacy. In an attempt to show how military spending could be cut, for instance, he suggested that the military's LAMPS III helicopter be scrapped. It turned out that a plant in the 28th District made parts for the aircraft.

Before running for Congress, McHugh served as district attorney of Tompkins County, at the far western edge of the sprawling district. As district attorney, he was popular with the Cornell University community in Ithaca. He organized a local drug treatment facility and demanded peaceful handling of student protests.

**Committees**

**Appropriations** (20th of 36 Democrats)  
Agriculture; Rural Development and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations.

**Select Children, Youth and Families** (5th of 16 Democrats)

**Elections****1982 General**

Matthew F. McHugh (D)	100,665	(56%)
David Crowley (R)	75,991	(43%)

**1980 General**

Matthew F. McHugh (D)	103,863	(55%)
Neil Wallace (R)	83,096	(44%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (56%) 1976 (67%)  
1974 (53%)

**District Vote For President.**

1980		1976	
D	83,039 (38%)	D	110,702 (48%)
R	108,287 (49%)	R	121,263 (52%)
I	24,117 (11%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1982</b>				
McHugh (D)	\$447,500	\$137,702 (31%)		\$443,864
Crowley (R)	\$278,409	\$92,821 (33%)		\$273,911
<b>1980</b>				
McHugh (D)	\$333,196	\$90,810 (27%)		\$321,219
Wallace (R)	\$187,876	\$43,409 (23%)		\$186,537

**Voting Studies**

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	39	53	89	8	19	81
1981	32	68	89	11	19	80
1980	76	20	88	8	11	84
1979	82	16	86	12	16	83
1978	84	15	84	13	12	87
1977	72	20	74	16	21	67
1976	24	75	87	11	18	77
1975	35	63	88	7	11	86

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	100	17	95	23
1981	95	8	73	11
1980	83	21	72	64
1979	89	4	90	13
1978	75	15	80	28
1977	70	10	80	33
1976	80	4	77	32
1975	95	7	95	6

*New Jersey - 6th District*

## Bernard J. Dwyer (D)

**Of Edison — Elected 1980**

**Born:** Jan. 24, 1921, Perth Amboy, N.J.  
**Education:** Attended Rutgers U.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1940-45.  
**Occupation:** Insurance salesman.  
**Family:** Wife, Lilyan Sudzina; one child.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Edison Township Council, 1958-69;  
 Edison mayor, 1969-73; N.J. Senate, 1974-80, majority leader, 1980.  
**Capitol Office:** 404 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6301.



**In Washington:** Elected to Congress at age 59 after decades of loyal service to the Middlesex County Democratic organization, Dwyer slid right into the groove established by Edward J. Patten, his Democratic predecessor.

He picked up Patten's staff, his seat on the Appropriations Committee and even his assignment on the Labor, Health and Human Services Subcommittee. About the only thing he did not assume was Patten's clownish personality. He is as quiet and low-key as his predecessor was loud and roisterous.

Dwyer's reputation as an unassuming party loyalist helped him when he decided to try for Patten's slot on Appropriations in 1981. There was only one opening for a first-term member, and several other freshmen were competing actively for the position. Of all the candidates, though, Dwyer was the one whose background virtually guaranteed that he would deliver his vote when the leadership asked. After strenuous lobbying on his behalf by fellow New Jersey Democrat Robert A. Roe, Dwyer won the post.

On the committee, Dwyer has specialized in higher education — Rutgers, New Jersey's state university, is in his district — and health matters. When Reagan administration funding cuts threatened the alcoholism research program that had been established at Rutgers, Dwyer made sure the project was protected. He also included money in the National Institutes of Health appropriations package to be used to upgrade health research equipment at universities and facilities funded by the National Institutes.

Like many other House members from heavily ethnic districts, Dwyer peppers the *Congressional Record* with insertions on such matters as Soviet annexation of the Baltic states and human rights violations in Byelorussia.

But he almost never says anything on the floor himself. His sole speech during his first term in Congress was on behalf of a resolution he had introduced honoring the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group; the measure passed in mid-1982.

**At Home:** Dwyer was known in the New Jersey Senate as a legislative tactician who avoided the public spotlight and preferred behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

His most notable individual accomplishments attracted little public attention. Dwyer pushed through a ban on state government purchase of imported cars and a \$50 million bond issue to weatherize state buildings. Much of his work was done at the Joint Appropriations Committee, which he chaired at one point during his Senate career.

In his 1980 campaign to succeed Patten, Dwyer held off primary and general election opponents with the confidence born of solid organization support in a district where that still means a great deal.

As the candidate of the Middlesex County Democratic organization, Dwyer let the party do most of the work for him. In contrast, William O'Sullivan Jr. was the candidate of a badly divided local GOP. He also was outspent by Dwyer 3-to-1.

Some excitement was generated when opponents accused Dwyer, an insurance salesman, of using his clout to get a no-bid county insurance contract. However, Dwyer was able to deflate the issue by producing a letter from the state Senate Ethics Committee approving his conduct.

In his first re-election campaign, in 1982, Dwyer faced Republican Bertram L. Buckler, a construction company executive. Dwyer won 68 percent of the vote.

Bernard J. Dwyer, D-N.J.

## New Jersey 6

Exxon's giant Bayway refinery, with its flaring gas and oppressive stench, is responsible for much of New Jersey's image problem. Travelers seeing the refinery from the turnpike wonder why anyone would live near it. But thousands of the 6th's voters do. They are predominantly white ethnics and Hispanics, many of them within sight and smell of the refinery complex.

The 6th extends for miles beyond the refinery and the turnpike. Covering most of industrial Middlesex County, it traditionally has been a rich source of votes for the Democratic Party. On the congressional level, the Middlesex constituency has been reliably Democratic since 1961. Before that, the county was split between two Republican districts.

In state and national elections, however, partisanship is far from solid. Middlesex, which solidly supported John F. Kennedy in 1960, barely went for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980. In the 1981 gubernatorial election, the county gave Democrat James J. Florio only

## Central — New Brunswick, Perth Amboy

a scant plurality.

Middlesex is a place where heavy things are made. The closer one gets to the Arthur Kill, separating New Jersey and Staten Island, the heavier and dirtier the industry becomes. Bleak Perth Amboy, now 40 percent Hispanic, illustrates the economic problems troubling this industrial belt. A Canadian company opened a new steel plant there in 1977, but recent layoffs have dashed any hopes it would spark a resurgence.

The presence of Rutgers University and a one-quarter black population keep New Brunswick thoroughly Democratic. Though parts of the city are faded, Johnson & Johnson is leading an effort to revitalize New Brunswick by building its new headquarters in the middle of downtown.

Population: 523,798. White 458,270 (88%), Black 42,240 (8%), Asian and Pacific Islander 9,699 (2%). Spanish origin 33,393 (6%). 18 and over 392,465 (75%), 65 and over 48,773 (9%). Median age: 31.

### Committees

Appropriations (31st of 36 Democrats)  
Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education.

### Elections

**1982 General**  
Bernard J. Dwyer (D) 100,418 (68%)  
Bertram Buckler (R) 46,093 (31%)

**1980 General**  
Bernard J. Dwyer (D) 92,457 (53%)  
William O'Sullivan Jr. (R) 75,812 (44%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	87,553 (41%)	D	113,745 (52%)
R	107,163 (50%)	R	101,923 (46%)
I	14,533 (7%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Dwyer (D)	\$80,019	\$59,075 (74%)	\$50,131
Buckler (R)	\$27,817	0	\$27,489

1980

Dwyer (D)	\$154,996	\$52,500 (34%)	\$149,141
O'Sullivan Jr. (R)	\$55,264	\$23,376 (42%)	\$53,055

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	39	57	94	5	22	78
1981	41	57	93	5	16	83

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Increase gas tax by 5 cents per gallon (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	13	90	27
1981	75	13	93	22

Arizona - 3rd District

## Bob Stump (R)

**Of Tolleson — Elected 1976**

**Born:** April 4, 1927, Phoenix, Ariz.  
**Education:** Ariz. State U., B.S. 1951.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1943-46.  
**Occupation:** Farmer.  
**Family:** Divorced; three children.  
**Religion:** Seventh Day Adventist.  
**Political Career:** Ariz. House, 1959-67; Ariz. Senate, 1967-77, president, 1975-77.  
**Capitol Office:** 211 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4576.



**In Washington:** For years, Republican officials urged conservative Democrat Stump to cross the aisle and run for office the way he voted — in support of the GOP. "Any time he wants to switch parties," Republican leader and homestate colleague John J. Rhodes used to say, "I can guarantee him the Republican nomination."

In 1981, a few months after he backed President Reagan in the critical tax and budget decisions, Stump announced he would finally make the move. He said he had been a Democrat out of family tradition, but felt increasingly alienated from his party after it began withholding favors from members who strayed from the leadership line too often.

Both parties wondered whether his decision would bring about aftershocks in the House, prompting other disaffected Democrats to join the GOP. That never happened. Only one other Democrat left his party — Eugene V. Atkinson of Pennsylvania — and he lost the next election.

Perhaps the most important effect of Stump's switch was a change in party rules. In 1982 Democrats pushed through a rule providing that any future member who leaves the party in the middle of a session will lose his Democratic committee assignments immediately. Stump had been allowed to keep his seats on Armed Services and Veterans' Affairs through the 97th Congress, despite his declared intention to run as a Republican in 1982.

As it turned out, the party switch eventually forced him to give up his Veterans' Affairs assignment. He won his place there in 1981, when the Conservative Democratic Forum pressured Speaker O'Neill to give prize Democratic committee assignments to conservatives. But two years later, new party ratios in the House altered the balance on each committee, reducing the Republican membership of Veter-

ans' Affairs from 15 to 11. Stump, being last in seniority, failed to win a place.

Stump can still pursue his interests in national defense on the Intelligence and Armed Services committees. He has been on Armed Services since 1978 and is a member of its Investigations and Research and Development subcommittees. But he is not one of the more active people there.

Stump seldom speaks on the floor, and he introduces few bills. He has held one press conference during his six years in the House — the one at which he announced he would run as a Republican in 1982.

But like all Arizonans in Congress, on water issues Stump is a vocal protector of his state's interests. When the Carter administration tried to impose on Western landowners the stringent federal water controls of a long-ignored 1902 law, Stump simply introduced a bill to repeal major portions of the law. That bill never went anywhere; a compromise on the issue was finally reached after several years of dispute.

While he was still a Democrat, Stump was much in demand as a board member for national conservative organizations, to whose efforts he lent a trace of bipartisanship. He is still on some of the boards, such as that of the National Right to Work Committee, but they have one less Democratic name on their letterheads.

**At Home:** Secure in his northern Arizona seat since his first election in 1976, Stump had plenty of time to mull over his long-contemplated party switch. When he finally filed on the Republican side in 1982, it caused barely a ripple back home.

Stump said his decision would not cost him any significant support in either party. He was right. The middle-class retirees who have

**Bob Stump, R-Ariz.**

## Arizona 3

Once dominated almost entirely by "pinto Democrats" — ranchers and other conservative rural landowners — the 3rd has become prime GOP turf over the years.

The GOP has fared particularly well here in recent presidential elections. Gerald R. Ford carried the area within the boundaries of the 3rd by a comfortable margin in 1976; four years later Ronald Reagan racked up 67 percent here, his best showing in the state.

The majority of the 3rd's population resides in the Maricopa County suburbs west of Phoenix. Glendale and Sun City, an affluent retirement community, are among the most important towns politically. Both produce mammoth Republican majorities. Political organizations among the retirees in Sun City contribute to turnouts of 90 percent or higher in congressional elections.

In redistricting, map makers sent the Hispanic areas of southern Yuma County to the 2nd District. The 3rd kept the more conservative northern section of Yuma County. Residents of this section moved to

## North and West — Glendale; Flagstaff; part of Phoenix

set up their own local government in June of 1982, passing a ballot initiative that transformed northern Yuma into brand-new LaPaz County.

Mohave County, occupying the northwestern corner of the state, is home to three groups in constant political tension — Indians, pinto Democrats in Kingman and Republican retirees in Lake Havasu City. The county split between Democrats and Republicans has been close in recent statewide elections.

Old-time Democratic loyalties persist in Flagstaff, the seat of Coconino County and the commercial center of northern Arizona. But the heavily Mormon part of Coconino County, closer to the Utah border, is staunchly Republican.

Population: 544,870. White 468,924 (86%), Black 8,330 (2%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 27,538 (5%), Asian and Pacific Islander 3,845 (1%). Spanish origin 64,414 (12%). 18 and over 389,150 (71%), 65 and over 79,881 (15%). Median age: 31.

flocked to this Sun Belt territory in recent years brought their Republican voting habits along, and the conservative rural Democrats who traditionally have formed the core of Stump's constituency proved willing to move across the aisle with him. Stump coasted to victory with 63 percent of the vote, the only House incumbent to switch and survive the fight in 1982.

The ease with which Stump made the transition owes a lot to his roots as a "pinto" Democrat, a conservative of the type that dominated state politics before the postwar population boom. A cotton farmer with roots in rural Arizona, Stump served 18 years in the state Legislature and rose to the presidency of the state Senate during the 1975-76 session. When

Republican Rep. Sam Steiger tried for the U.S. Senate in 1976, Stump decided to run for his House seat.

In the 1976 Democratic primary, he defeated a more liberal, free-spending opponent, former Assistant State Attorney General Sid Rosen. Stump drew 31 percent to Rosen's 25 percent, with the rest scattered among three others. In the fall campaign, Stump's GOP opponent was fellow state Sen. Fred Koory, the Senate minority leader. Stump wooed conservative Democrats by attacking his party's vice presidential nominee, Walter Mondale.

Stump was helped in the election by a third candidate, state Sen. Bill McCune, a Republican running as an independent, who drained GOP votes away from Koory.

## Arizona - 3rd District

## Committees

**Armed Services** (7th of 16 Republicans)  
Investigations; Research and Development.  
**Select Intelligence** (4th of 5 Republicans)  
Program and Budget Authorization.

## Elections

**1982 General**  
Bob Stump (R) 101,198 (63%)  
Pat Bosch (D) 58,644 (37%)  
**1980 General**  
Bob Stump (D) 141,448 (64%)  
Bob Croft (R) 65,845 (30%)  
Sharon Hayse (LIB) 12,529 (6%)  
**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (85%) 1976 (48%)  
**District Vote For President**  

1980		1976	
D	48,133 (24%)	D	63,232 (39%)
R	132,455 (67%)	R	95,078 (58%)
I	13,103 (7%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Stump (R)	\$280,713	\$128,290 (46%)	\$280,331
Bosch (D)	\$90,319	\$58,250 (64%)	\$87,927
<b>1980</b>			
Stump (D)	\$144,326	\$59,397 (41%)	\$85,154
Croft (R)	\$2,471	0	\$5,229

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	82	13	3	93	96	0
1981	74	18	17	81	97	0
1980	32	65	15	82	93	4
1979	19	73	8	85	92	1
1978	20	65	14	74	82	4
1977	29	61	16	76	91	3

S = Support O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	0	95	0	89
1981	0	91	13	95
1980	0	83	17	71
1979	0	96	10	100
1978	5	100	10	82
1977	5	100	9	100

Florida - 10th District

# 10 Andy Ireland (R)

Of Winter Haven — Elected 1976

**Born:** Aug. 23, 1930, Cincinnati, Ohio.

**Education:** Yale U., B.S. 1952; L.S.U. School of Banking, graduated 1959; attended Columbia U. School of Business, 1953-54.

**Occupation:** Banker.

**Family:** Wife, Nancy Detmer; four children.

**Religion:** Episcopalian.

**Political Career:** Winter Haven City Commission, 1966-68; Democratic nominee for Fla. Senate, 1972.

**Capitol Office:** 2446 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-5015.



In Washington: Joking and jostling with his southern colleagues on "Redneck Row" at the back of the House chamber, Ireland offers little clue that he is a graduate of Phillips Academy and Yale, or that he used to be the treasurer of the Florida Bankers Association. He comes as close to being a good old boy as anybody with his background ever will.

Whether one views Ireland as a corporate conservative or just an old-fashioned Southern Democrat, he leaves no doubt about his ideology. Except for his first year, he never has voted against the "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats much more than 10 percent of the time. In the 97th Congress, he was one of only nine Democrats to back President Reagan on all of five key economic votes.

Most of Ireland's legislative work has been on small business matters. On the Small Business Committee in the 96th Congress, Ireland worked for the "Regulatory Flexibility Act," which requires federal agencies to weigh the effect of proposed regulations on small businesses — and consider making exceptions for them. That bill became law in late 1980.

In 1982, while most members of Congress were trying to narrow the scope of a bill to set aside a portion of federal research and development contracts for small business, Ireland wanted to increase its scope by adding the Agency for International Development to the list of agencies required to use some small contractors. His amendment was defeated by a voice vote.

In 1982 he took an even more direct role to help small businesses, forming a political action committee to work on their behalf. He serves as its treasurer.

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, Ireland has fought to lift a ban on the use of U.S. foreign aid to spray the herbicide paraquat on marijuana fields. As a member of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, he has lobbied along with Florida citrus growers to persuade Japan to reduce barriers to the importation of American oranges.

He is probably best known, though, for his Washington fund-raisers featuring the Ringling Brothers Circus, which used to winter in his district. Ireland puts up a tent and has clowns, showgirls and midgets entertain contributors before the show.

**At Home:** As a wealthy banker, Ireland had the resources to outclass his competition in 1976, when the open 8th District was up for grabs. The \$144,000 he spent on the effort was not an unusual amount, but it brought him a sophisticated campaign. Expert advice from political and advertising consultants, a carefully built county-by-county organization and Ireland's own relaxed manner compensated for his political inexperience.

Ireland and five others sought the Democratic nomination that year when seven-term Rep. James A. Haley announced his retirement. A runoff between Ireland and state Rep. Ray Mattox was expected, but Ireland won the nomination outright with 51 percent of the vote in the primary.

His general election foe was Republican state Rep. Robert Johnson, who had served in the Legislature for six years but was not well-known outside his Sarasota home. Ireland won 58 percent of the vote, a slightly higher share than veteran Democrat Haley had received in his last two elections. Since then, Ireland has met only one nominal foe.

Andy Ireland, D-Fla.

## Florida 10

All over Florida, land once devoted to agriculture is being eaten away by shopping centers, motels and condominiums. But in Polk County, centerpiece of the 10th District, citrus is still king.

Thousands of area jobs are connected with the growing, picking, packing, processing and loading of oranges, orange concentrate and grapefruit. Polk is the nation's foremost citrus-producing county.

Phosphate rock, the raw material of fertilizer, is another key element of the Polk County economy. Three-fourths of America's phosphate is strip-mined out of Polk, although the industry has suffered recently from slack demand.

About 60 percent of the people in the 10th live in Polk, with the major concentration in the Lakeland-Winter Haven area. In congressional elections, Polk has given Ireland overwhelming margins; in presidential contests, however, it usually goes Republican.

## Central — Lakeland; Winter Haven; Bradenton

The 10th has one Gulf Coast county, Manatee, which accounts for about 30 percent of the district's population. The city of Bradenton there grew 43 percent during the 1970s, to a population exceeding 30,000. Manatee County is a popular retirement area for people from Central and Midwestern states where Republican voting was a habit. Registered Democrats once outnumbered registered Republicans in Manatee County by 3-to-1; lately the Democratic advantage has slipped to about 55-45.

De Soto and Hardee counties are also included in the 10th. Predominantly agricultural, they have cattle ranches, citrus groves, a scattering of small towns and conservative Democratic voters.

Population: 512,890. White 435,256 (85%), Black 66,731 (13%). Spanish origin 16,774 (3%). 18 and over 381,628 (74%), 65 and over 92,163 (18%). Median age: 35.

### Committees

**Foreign Affairs** (8th of 24 Democrats)  
Asian and Pacific Affairs; Europe and the Middle East.

**Small Business** (9th of 26 Democrats)  
Export Opportunities and Special Small Business Problems (chairman).

### Elections

#### 1982 General

Andy Ireland (D) Unopposed

#### 1980 General

Andy Ireland (D) 151,613 (69%)  
Scott Nicholson (R) 61,820 (28%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (100%) 1976 (58%)

#### District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	71,059 (38%)	D	77,872 (49%)
R	107,348 (58%)	R	78,521 (50%)
I	5,857 (3%)		

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Ireland (D)	\$196,145	\$76,445 (39%)	\$155,480
1980			
Ireland (D)	\$261,483	\$88,894 (34%)	\$221,103
Nicholson (R)	\$12,394	0	\$12,460

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	60	17	22	50	75	5
1981	74	16	29	56	87	7
1980	58	33	47	46	82	8
1979	46	44	42	46	76	12
1978	39	44	30	56	74	12
1977	62	30	42	52	72	21

S = Support

O = Opposition

### Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

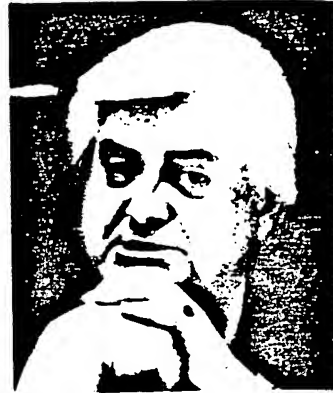
Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	10	84	6	80
1981	5	74	29	100
1980	6	46	11	73
1979	16	50	11	71
1978	20	78	21	67
1977	15	61	30	75

Illinois - 6th District

## Henry J. Hyde (R)

Of Bensenville — Elected 1974

**Born:** April 18, 1924, Chicago, Ill.  
**Education:** Georgetown U., B.S. 1947; Loyola U., J.D. 1949.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1942-46.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Jeanne Simpson; four children.  
**Religion:** Roman Catholic.  
**Political Career:** Ill. House, 1967-75, majority leader, 1971-72; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1962.  
**Capitol Office:** 2104 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4561.



**In Washington:** Hyde's crusade against federal funding for abortions has brought him national attention beyond the reach of most of his colleagues. But it also has brought a reputation for fanaticism that seems to trouble him as he competes for a leadership role in the House.

"When an issue develops," he has said, "you either evade it or you grapple with it. I grappled with it, and now it's grappling back."

Hyde would like to be known as a thoughtful conservative who legislates with restraint on a variety of issues. But the only subject most people want to talk about with him is abortion. And he rarely refuses to talk about it.

Hyde was a freshman when he offered his first amendment to ban federal funding of abortions, largely at the urging of Maryland's conservative Republican, Robert E. Bauman. At that time, the federal government was paying for between 200,000 and 300,000 abortions a year, mostly for Medicaid recipients. The amendment passed the House, although it was modified in the Senate to allow payment for abortions to save the life of the mother.

By 1981, the Hyde amendment was firmly in place, upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court. It permitted abortion funding only to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest. The number of federally funded abortions has declined to about 2,000 annually.

With that question apparently settled, Hyde made a conscious effort to concentrate on other subjects in the 97th Congress. While he introduced legislation to identify conception as the beginning of life, he made no real attempt to move it through Judiciary or on to the House floor. "We don't have the votes," he admitted.

Instead, Hyde spent much of 1981 arguing about extension of the Voting Rights Act, an experience in which he played a constructive but frequently unhappy role.

When Judiciary first debated extension of the 1965 act, Hyde felt it was time to ease up on the restrictions imposed by the law upon Southern states. All these states have to pre-clear any election law changes with the government; Hyde felt some of them deserved the chance to "bail out" because of good behavior. "A handful of Southern states have been in the penalty box for nearly 17 years," he said. He talked about writing a new law that would apply equally to all regions of the country.

But hearings on the issue changed his mind, and he admitted it with the candor that is his most appealing quality. "I have learned from the hearings," he said, "that there are still enormous difficulties with people getting the right to vote in the South." Hyde's conversion was the decisive event guaranteeing that a strong Voting Rights revision eventually would pass the House.

Still, Hyde was unable to go along with the law drafted by the committee's Democrats. Although he voted to approve it in committee, he felt it still set too many obstacles against a state that genuinely had reformed and wanted to bail out. He thought some of the language was unconstitutional.

At that point, Democrat Don Edwards of California, chairman of the subcommittee that wrote the bill, decided to work around Hyde and negotiate a compromise with other Republicans on Judiciary. Hyde took personal offense at being bypassed. But after failing to win approval of a floor amendment designed to ease the bailout process, he voted for the bill on final passage.

Several months later, however, when the Voting Rights bill returned to the House following Senate passage, Hyde and Edwards again quarreled over the procedures for its final approval. Hyde stormed out of the House

Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill.

## Illinois 6

Hyde was given what amounted to a brand-new district in 1982, with less than 5 percent of his former constituency. The old 6th, almost entirely in Cook County, was chopped up and grafted in pieces onto the western ends of underpopulated inner-city Chicago districts.

The redrawn 6th takes in new parts of Cook, but DuPage County dominates, casting more than 60 percent of the vote.

It is an even safer district for Hyde than the previous one. Before 1982 the 6th included pockets of Democratic strength in Maywood and other moderate-income suburbs with significant black populations. There are no such enclaves in the new district, whose suburban territory is nearly all white-collar and Republican.

The 6th follows the route of two commuter rail lines that drew Chicagoans westward as early as the 1930s. Elmhurst, Villa Park, Lombard, Glen Ellyn and Wheaton spread out from the city in the southern part of the district. Farther north are Wood

## Far West Chicago Suburbs — Wheaton

Dale, Itasca and Roselle, newer suburbs that are still expanding. Roselle has more than doubled in size since 1970. Schaumburg, which was still rural in 1960, has tripled in size during the past decade, with condominiums and apartment complexes cropping up around its enormous shopping center.

Less affluent is the area between the rail lines, including Glendale Heights and Addison, which have some light industry. A huge industrial park is located near Elk Grove Village, another fast-growing suburb to the north.

On its northeastern border, the 6th hooks into Cook County to take in the older, prosperous suburbs of Des Plaines and Park Ridge. Des Plaines, adjoining O'Hare Airport, is home to many airline employees.

Population: 519,015. White 494,144 (95%), Black 4,321 (1%), Asian and Pacific Islander 14,413 (3%). Spanish origin 15,155 (3%). 18 and over 367,916 (71%), 65 and over 38,548 (7%). Median age: 30.

chamber, and shortly afterward he resigned from Edwards' subcommittee.

Although Hyde has often led the conservative opposition in his years on Judiciary, his actions have not been easy to predict. It was Hyde who fought against a proposal to bar strikes by Legal Services Corporation lawyers, arguing that, as private citizens, they had a constitutional right to strike. It was a very lawyerlike Hyde who, in 1977, pointed out that an emergency bill to combat child pornography might be unconstitutional. "In our well-intentioned desire to attack the revolting crime of child abuse," he said, "we have let our zeal overcome our judgment."

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, Hyde is a more predictable hawk and supporter of U.S. military aid to right-leaning regimes around the world. In the 97th Congress, he strongly backed U.S. help for El Salvador. He opposed efforts to restrict American aid to Egypt because of reported human rights violations. But unlike many conservative Republicans, Hyde does not reject the concept of humanitarian economic aid to the Third World. He has risen virtually every year to defend U.S. aid programs against

attacks by those who work with him on the abortion issue. When Republicans sought to cut funding for the Asian Development Bank by half in 1980, Hyde accused them of trying to turn back the clock "to the days of the early 1930s." On another occasion, he warned them that "the biblical injunction to give food to the hungry and clothe the naked does not stop when we enter this chamber."

Hyde has been one of the most active critics of the movement for a nuclear freeze. In mid-1982, when the House narrowly rejected a freeze, Hyde led the opposition, calling the idea "government by bumper sticker." Later in the year, after the National Conference of Catholic Bishops had prepared draft language endorsing a freeze, he persuaded 23 other Catholic members to sign his letter urging them to consider the arguments against it.

Hyde is one of the best debaters in the House. For all his references to abortion and other controversial topics as moral issues, he has never taken himself or his legislative role with solemnity. When he sees what he thinks is a flaw in the opposition's reasoning, he pounces on it with the sarcasm he used for more than a

**Illinois - 6th District**

decade as a trial lawyer in Chicago.

One day in 1980, when he was arguing against a new open-ended appropriation for child welfare, Democratic leaders told Hyde they disagreed with the practice in principle, but thought it was the wrong time to end it. "I understand," Hyde said. "We'll sober up tomorrow, but meanwhile pass the bottle."

It was Hyde's reputation for debating skill, rather than his national anti-abortion following, that brought him within three votes of the Republican Conference chairmanship in a last-minute campaign in 1979. Dissatisfied with the front-running candidate, Ohio's Samuel Devine, a group of freshman members persuaded Hyde to run less than a week before the election. Hyde's 74-71 loss was seen as a symbolic victory by his supporters and appeared to give him a shot at a higher leadership post later on.

Hyde was briefly a candidate for party whip in the 1980 election for that job, but faced an impossible problem — the fact that the front-running candidate for party leader, Robert H. Michel, was a fellow-Illinoisan, and no one state has ever had the top two members of the leadership. Once Michel's election as leader began to seem certain, Hyde withdrew.

**At Home:** Hyde grew up as an Irish Catholic Democrat in Chicago, but like Ronald Reagan, began having doubts about the Democratic Party in the late 1940s. By 1952, he had switched parties and backed Dwight D. Eisenhower for president.

After practicing law in the Chicago area for more than 10 years, and serving as a GOP precinct committeeman, Hyde was chosen by the Republican organization in 1962 to challenge Democratic Rep. Roman Pucinski in a northwest Chicago congressional district. The heavily ethnic district had been represented by a Republican for eight years before Pucinski won it in 1958. Hyde came within 10,000 votes of upsetting Pucinski.

Elected to the Illinois House in 1966, Hyde became one of its most active and outspoken members and one of its most articulate debaters. He was voted "best freshman representative" in 1967 and "most effective representative" in 1972. In 1971 Hyde became majority leader; he made an unsuccessful attempt at the speakership in 1973.

In 1974 longtime Republican Rep. Harold Collier retired from the suburban 6th Congressional District just west of Chicago. Much of the district was unfamiliar to Hyde, but he dominated the Republican primary anyway. He called on his political contacts to help line up

support from area GOP officials and emerged with 49 percent of the vote in a field of six candidates.

The general election was tougher. Hyde's Democratic opponent was Edward V. Hanrahan, a controversial former Cook County state's attorney trying for a political comeback. Hanrahan had made a name for himself in an unpleasant way five years earlier, when Chicago policemen attached to his office carried out an early morning raid on Black Panther Party headquarters, killing Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Hanrahan was indicted for attempting to obstruct the ensuing federal investigation, which had called into question police reports of the raid, but he was acquitted. He was beaten for re-election in 1972.

Nonetheless, Hyde went into his contest with Hanrahan at a disadvantage. The Democrat's past exploits had given him almost universal name recognition in the district and had made him something of a folk hero among some of the area's blue-collar ethnics. With rank-and-file Republicans deserting their party in droves in that Watergate year, the district's nominally Republican nature was not expected to hurt Hanrahan.

At the same time, Hyde had the edge in organization and funding. He launched a door-to-door campaign that brought him into each of the district's precincts and gave him a chance to appeal to traditional Republicans and liberal Democrats uncomfortable with Hanrahan's record.

Hanrahan proved unable to keep pace. The Democrat used his record of antagonism to the Daley machine to tout his independence, but traditionally Democratic sources of funding were dry for him. His penchant for running his own show produced a disorganized effort.

On Election Day, Hyde's superior resources won out. Using telephone banks and an army of precinct workers, his campaign staff turned out enough voters to give him an 8,000-vote plurality over Hanrahan at a time when Republican districts all over the country were falling to Democrats.

Since then, Hyde has become politically invincible. Because the 1981 redistricting gave him an almost completely new constituency, an aggressive primary challenger from the new area might have caused Hyde some trouble, as he himself conceded. But no one bothered to challenge him for renomination in 1982. In the general election, he won more than two-thirds of the vote, just as he did in 1978 and 1980.

*Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill.***Committees**

**Foreign Affairs** (9th of 13 Republicans)  
International Security and Scientific Affairs; Western Hemisphere Affairs.

**Judiciary** (3rd of 11 Republicans)  
Courts, Civil Liberties and Administration of Justice; Monopolies and Commercial Law.

**Elections****1982 General**

Henry Hyde (R) 97,918 (68%)  
Leroy Kennel (D) 45,237 (32%)

**1980 General**

Henry Hyde (R) 123,593 (67%)  
Mario Reda (D) 60,951 (33%)

**Previous Winning Percentages:** 1978 (66%) 1976 (61%)  
1974 (53%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	51,049 (25%)	D	72,192 (33%)
R	126,318 (63%)	R	142,229 (65%)
I	21,069 (11%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
<b>1982</b>				
Hyde (R)	\$267,975	\$69,452 (26%)		\$181,713
Kennel (D)	\$52,656	\$4,550 (9%)		\$45,271
<b>1980</b>				
Hyde (R)	\$209,818	\$57,819 (28%)		\$144,469
Reda (D)	\$30,558	\$14,750 (48%)		\$30,147

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	75	17	79	19	86	8
1981	79	20	77	19	81	16
1980	53	39	67	29	76	21
1979	42	50	71	25	78	19
1978	43	54	75	19	73	20
1977	47	52	77	20	80	15
1976	76	22	83	14	85	13
1975	79	20	82	15	85	14

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	15	86	11	81
1981	10	74	7	94
1980	28	74	26	79
1979	5	77	25	94
1978	10	70	5	94
1977	10	59	26	100
1976	0	70	26	74
1975	5	86	13	94

Wyoming - At Large

## AL Dick Cheney (R)

Of Casper — Elected 1978

**Born:** Jan. 30, 1941, Lincoln, Neb.  
**Education:** U. of Wyo., B.A. 1965, M.A. 1966.  
**Occupation:** Financial consultant.  
**Family:** Wife, Lynne Vincent; two children.  
**Religion:** Methodist.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 225 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-2311.



In Washington: Cheney's background as President Ford's White House chief of staff made him something more than an ordinary House freshman in 1979, and it helped him vault into the top ranks of the Republican leadership just two years later.

At the start of his second term, he defeated veteran Marjorie S. Holt of Maryland for the chairmanship of the Republican Policy Committee. Considered an audacious move by some, Cheney's successful challenge brought him far more influence than any other member of his class.

Once in office, Cheney altered the traditional role of the Policy Committee, which had been to issue position papers on dozens of diverse subjects. Instead, Cheney focused on making the panel an integral part of the GOP hierarchy, listening to the views of younger members and giving party leaders an idea of problems that might be coming up. In the 98th Congress, Cheney has become more of a leadership figure, spending long hours on the floor and working to coordinate strategy. His public statements are a good barometer of what the GOP leaders are thinking.

While he has been winning influence in Congress, Cheney also has been developing close ties with the Reagan White House. As a Ford loyalist, he was slow to endorse Ronald Reagan's campaign in 1980, but he has made the right moves to build alliances in the administration. In the 97th Congress, Cheney voted with the president more often than any other House member. He lobbied hard for the 1982 Reagan-oriented tax increase while some of the most militant Reaganites in the House were trying to defeat it.

At the end of the year, he gave a well-publicized speech to a governors' conference backing the administration's hard line toward the new Andropov regime in the Soviet Union. "He speaks English and he likes Scotch," Cheney said of Andropov, "but he is not a card-

carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union."

Cheney has managed to build an image in the House as a pragmatic conservative, one who votes Wyoming's anti-government sentiments but negotiates with the other side on a friendly basis. During his first term, when a group of Democrats led by Missouri's Richard Bolling decided to launch a bipartisan breakfast group to explore the common frustrations of House membership, Cheney was one of the first Republicans invited.

Cheney's only committee assignment is House Interior, but he is a major player there and an able conciliator between the more aggressive pro-development forces and the environmentalist majority. Although originally favorable toward Interior Secretary James G. Watt's proposal to open up wilderness areas to oil and gas leasing, Cheney joined his Democratic colleagues in opposing the secretary after learning of several leases pending in the Washakie Wilderness, near Yellowstone National Park in northwestern Wyoming.

Cheney introduced legislation in the 97th Congress banning oil and gas leasing in Wyoming wilderness areas and adding 480,000 additional wilderness acres. Unlike the Democrats, though, Cheney would release *potential* wilderness areas for development. Democrats had proposed to extend the ban to potential areas as well as current ones.

Although the Senate passed the Wyoming wilderness measure, the House failed to act. Cheney reintroduced his measure in the 98th Congress, adding another 171,000 acres to be designated wilderness.

Cheney was frustrated on a park protection measure in 1982. He felt the bill, intended to protect areas "adjacent to" national parks, was poorly drafted; he searched in vain for a definition of "adjacent." On the floor, Cheney

*Dick Cheney, R-Wyo.*

## Wyoming — At Large

Wyoming has always been fairly easy to explain in terms of partisan politics. Democrats are competitive in the five counties along the state's southern border. North of these five — Albany, Carbon, Laramie, Sweetwater and Uinta counties — they almost never win, and this makes it difficult for them to succeed statewide.

The Democratic voting tradition in southern Wyoming goes back to the early days of the state when immigrant laborers, many of them from Italy, were imported to build the Union Pacific rail line through those southern counties. The state's first coal miners followed. Like their counterparts in other states, most of the workingmen were drawn into the Democratic Party.

Although the southern counties remain the most Democratic area in the state, today their residents are conservative on most issues and in recent years have often sided with Republicans. Ronald Reagan easily carried all five southern counties in 1980.

The few Democrats who have won statewide in recent years — notably former Sen. Gale McGee and Gov. Ed Herschler — have done so by restraining the growth of the Republican vote in the south. In 1978, when Herschler won re-election by 2,377 votes, he did it on an 8,000-vote plurality in the five southern counties.

Three of the four largest towns in Wyoming are in this region, including Cheyenne, the state capital, and Laramie. In 1980 slightly more than a third of the state's

residents lived in the southern corridor.

The northern part of the state is the Wyoming of ranch and rock. Its dry plateaus and basins accommodate the cattle ranches that make Wyoming the "Cowboy State." The mountains and valleys contain most of the state's mineral wealth.

This is conservative country, and ranching interests have traditionally dominated it. The gradual shift from ranching to mineral development and the ensuing population growth changed the power structure in some of these counties in the past decade, but did little to shake the region's Republican voting habits.

Casper, in Natrona County, is the state's largest city. A 1970s energy boom town with 51,016 people, Casper finally passed Cheyenne, the traditional leader, in 1980. Once a trading center, Casper has become the hub of Wyoming's mineral operations.

The population boom is changing the face of northern Wyoming, with new towns and subdivisions sprouting like prairie grass. Nevertheless, the people are still widely scattered. Apart from Casper, Sheridan is still the only town in northern Wyoming with more than 15,000 inhabitants.

Population: 469,557. White 446,488 (95%), Black 3,364 (1%), American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut 7,094 (2%). Spanish origin 24,499 (5%). 18 and over 324,004 (69%), 65 and over 37,175 (8%). Median age: 27.

read a letter from Secretary Watt objecting to the measure. Despite — or perhaps because of — Watt's objections, the House passed the bill overwhelmingly.

In his first term, one of Cheney's interests was a historic preservation bill offering federal money to include new buildings in the National Register of Historic Places. Cheney complained that buildings should not be added to the register without the owner's permission. He threatened to hold up action on the bill at the end of the 96th Congress, but ultimately negotiated a deal that added the consent language he wanted and allowed the bill to become law.

He was less conciliatory toward the new Energy Mobilization Board President Carter wanted to create to speed up the approval of

priority energy projects. The board was a sensitive issue all over the Rocky Mountain West, which feared it would override existing state law and clear the way for projects depriving the region of scarce water.

Cheney fought the board both in committee and on the floor. Managers of the legislation accepted his floor amendment blocking the board from overriding any existing state law regulating water rights. But most Westerners still found the idea dangerous and when the issue came back to the House as a conference report, Cheney joined the majority that killed the legislation outright.

Cheney also served a term on the House ethics committee, investigating the kickback case of Michigan Democratic Rep. Charles C.

**Wyoming - At Large**

Diggs Jr. and the Abscam bribery charges.

More restrained than many junior Republicans, he refused to vote with a majority of them to expel Diggs at the start of the 96th Congress, after he had been convicted in federal court. When the ethics committee later recommended Diggs' censure rather than expulsion, Cheney argued the case for it on the floor, saying expulsion would deprive his constituents of their right to representation. On Abscam, he backed the committee's decision to expel Democrat Michael "Ozzie" Myers of Pennsylvania after viewing tapes of Myers accepting bribes from an FBI agent.

**At Home:** Cheney grew up in Wyoming, but his long absence from the state while he worked in national politics subjected him to carpetbagging charges during his 1978 House campaign. He countered with literature stressing his local roots and education, and effectively played to home state pride as a Wyomingite who had served at the top in Washington.

The future of Cheney's congressional career was placed in doubt during the summer of 1978, when he suffered a mild heart attack. But he recovered quickly enough to resume a full schedule of campaigning for the nomination against popular state Treasurer Ed Witzensburger, who stressed that he had been a Reagan man in 1976 — the popular choice in Wyoming — while Cheney had been working for Ford. Cheney beat Witzensburger by 7,705 votes, and the general election was no contest. He has been re-elected with landslide margins since.

Cheney was a political science graduate student in the late 1960s when he came to Washington on a fellowship. He stayed to take a job under Donald J. Rumsfeld at the Office of Economic Opportunity, followed Rumsfeld to the Ford White House and replaced his mentor as White House chief of staff in 1975. Cheney shared some of Rumsfeld's moderate Republican reputation during his White House years, but he is entrenched in Wyoming now as a clear-cut Mountain conservative.

**Committees**

Interior and Insular Affairs (6th of 14 Republicans)  
Water and Power (ranking); Public Lands and National Parks.

**Elections**

**1982 General**  
Dick Cheney (R) 113,236 (71%)  
Ted Hommel (D) 46,041 (29%)  
**1982 Primary**  
Dick Cheney (R) 67,093 (89%)  
Michael Dee (R) 8,453 (11%)

**1980 General**  
Dick Cheney (R) 116,361 (69%)  
Jim Rogers (D) 53,338 (31%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1978 (59%)

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	49,427 (28%)	D	62,239 (40%)
R	110,700 (63%)	R	92,717 (59%)
I	12,072 (7%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Cheney (R)	\$110,733	\$71,906 (65%)	\$109,171
Hommel (D)	\$5,923	\$100 (2%)	\$5,863

1980

Cheney (R)	\$110,949	\$58,020 (52%)	\$97,859
Rogers (D)	\$9,814	\$1,150 (12%)	\$8,854

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	87	10	83	7	93	3
1981	83	14	83	13	84	11
1980	38	53	83	10	83	11
1979	30	66	86	8	85	6

S = Support O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	N
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	100	0	80
1981	5	79	7	100
1980	6	95	11	70
1979	11	100	11	94

*Louisiana - 1st District*

## Bob Livingston (R)

**Of New Orleans — Elected 1977**

**Born:** April 30, 1943, Colorado Springs, Colo.  
**Education:** Tulane U., B.A. 1967, J.D. 1968.  
**Military Career:** Navy, 1961-63.  
**Occupation:** Lawyer.  
**Family:** Wife, Bonnie Robichaux; four children.  
**Religion:** Episcopalian.  
**Political Career:** Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1976.  
**Capitol Office:** 306 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-3015.



**In Washington:** After several years of looking after Louisiana water projects and focusing on the ethical conduct of colleagues, Livingston turned his gaze toward world affairs in the 97th Congress.

In 1981 he became a member of the Appropriations subcommittee handling foreign aid. This seemed an unusual choice since, as he later admitted, he had "never been a supporter of foreign aid." Yet with a Republican in the White House, he quickly became convinced of the need for aid as an instrument of foreign policy.

One of several Americans tapped to observe the 1982 elections in El Salvador, Livingston left more convinced than ever of the need for American involvement in that country. "If we in the United States subsequently listen to those who would have us pull out altogether," Livingston said when he returned, "... then we would be doing a great disservice to the people of El Salvador and to ourselves."

Generally, Livingston has supported the foreign aid mix endorsed by President Reagan. Like Reagan, he prefers a tilt toward military aid, but has been willing to accept some economic spending as well. He was one of only three Republicans on his subcommittee to back Reagan's 1981 request for \$850 million for the International Development Association, an arm of the World Bank that gives loans to the poorest nations. In 1982 he was on the losing end when his subcommittee voted to deny Reagan \$301.5 million he wanted in additional military aid.

On his other subcommittee, Labor and Health and Human Services, Livingston has followed a more traditional cost-cutting line, at least for projects that do not benefit Louisiana. In the winter of 1982, when states were complaining that they had exhausted their low-income energy assistance funds, he opposed the

additional \$123 million the subcommittee wanted to give, arguing that states could transfer money from social services block grants if they were running out.

During the 96th Congress, Livingston spent most of his time on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

He took a quiet interest in the details of the numerous ethics cases that came up during the Congress, often asking factual questions at the panel's open hearings. But he proved one of the harsher members of the committee, arguing strongly for the expulsion of Pennsylvania Democrat Michael "Ozzie" Myers in an Abscam bribery case and for censure of Charles H. Wilson, the California Democrat accused of several kickback charges.

Livingston also spent two terms on a pair of committees more important to his district, Public Works and Merchant Marine.

On the Public Works Water Resources Subcommittee, he had an opportunity to look out for the flood control interests of his frequently threatened lowland district. On Merchant Marine, he voted the interests of his local fishing industry. He supported a resolution to increase the tariff on imported shrimp.

At the start of the 97th Congress, Livingston left both Public Works and Merchant Marine for Appropriations.

**At Home:** The 1st District did not come close to electing a Republican to the House for a century after Reconstruction, but now that it has one, it seems quite satisfied. Livingston has had no difficulty holding the seat he won in a 1977 special election. Most of his constituents accept him as a logical replacement for his famous predecessor, Democrat F. Edward Herbert.

A prosperous New Orleans lawyer, former assistant U.S. attorney and veteran party

*Bob Livingston, R-La.*

## Louisiana 1

## Southeast — New Orleans

New Orleans casts more than 60 percent of the 1st District vote. While the district has some of the fashionable neighborhoods along Lake Pontchartrain and around Loyola, Tulane and Xavier universities, it includes few of the city's tourist spots; most of the district's New Orleans portion is in middle- to lower-income neighborhoods.

Some of this territory is in the northern and eastern parts of the city; the rest is along the west bank of the Mississippi River in a section known as Algiers. These are ethnic communities, "marble cake" mixtures of Italians, Irish, Cubans and the largest number of Hondurans outside Central America. St. Tammany Parish, with just over 20 percent of the district's population, is a booming suburban haven. Once an isolated vacation area for residents escaping the heat and humidity of New Orleans, it has become a popular home for New Orleans oil executives.

During the last decade St. Tammany showed a 74 percent population increase, the largest of any parish in the state. Many of the newcomers are transplants from the East and Midwest who have maintained Republican voting habits. St. Tammany gave Ronald Reagan 63.7 percent of the vote in the 1980 presidential contest, his second

best showing in Louisiana.

Down river is the low, flat marshland of Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes. For generations Plaquemines has been a world of its own, ruled with an iron hand by segregationist Leander Perez until his death in 1969. Reflecting Perez' wishes, Plaquemines cast more than 75 percent of its presidential ballots for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond in 1948, Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George C. Wallace in 1968. But Perez' descendants have not matched his influence; they played only a minor role in the 1980 campaign. Reagan carried the parish with 54 percent of the vote.

Lying closer to New Orleans, St. Bernard has a growing blue-collar population; many of its residents work in large Kaiser Aluminum and Tenneco plants. The blue-collar element often votes Democratic in closely contested statewide races. Jimmy Carter carried the parish narrowly in his 1976 presidential bid, although Reagan won it in 1980 with 60 percent of the vote.

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Population: 524,961. White 357,946 (68%), Black 154,454 (29%), Asian and Pacific Islander 7,474 (1%). Spanish origin 20,693 (4%). 18 and over 367,614 (70%), 65 and over 50,290 (10%). Median age: 29.

worker, Livingston made his first bid for Congress in 1976, when Hebert stepped down. But he lost narrowly to a labor-backed Democrat, state Rep. Richard A. Tonry. The result was due in part to the independent conservative candidacy of former Democratic Rep. John R. Rarick, who drew nearly 10 percent of the vote.

Livingston did not have to wait long, however, for a second try. Tonry's 1976 primary opponent succeeded in pressing a vote fraud case against him, and Tonry resigned from the House in May 1977. He sought vindication in a second Democratic primary that June, but lost to state Rep. Ron Faucheux. Tonry subsequently pleaded guilty to several violations of federal campaign finance law and was sent to prison.

Livingston was ready to run again as soon as Tonry resigned. He mounted a well-financed campaign against Faucheux that drew signifi-

cant blue-collar support as well as backing from more traditional GOP voters in white-collar areas. Spending more than \$500,000, Livingston launched an advertising blitz that showed him in his earlier job as a welder and as a devoted family man (in contrast to Faucheux, a young bachelor).

The Republican did not stress his party ties in the traditionally Democratic district. Instead he emphasized his background in law enforcement and claimed that he was in the conservative mainstream that had elected Hebert to Congress for 36 years.

With organized labor refusing to support Faucheux, Livingston won easily. Since then, the Democrats have not run a formidable challenger against him.

The only threat to his House career was posed in 1981 by the Democratic Legislature, which passed a redistricting bill that would

**Bob Livingston, R-La.**

have forced Livingston to run in a substantially changed district that included large blue-collar sections of Jefferson Parish. When Republican

Gov. David C. Treen threatened to veto the plan, the Legislature backed off and gave Livingston a district in which he could win easily.

**Committees**

Appropriations (16th of 21 Republicans)  
Foreign Operations; Military Construction.

**Elections****1982 Primary\***

Bob Livingston (R)	76,410	(86%)
Murphy Green (I)	6,660	( 8%)
Suzanne Weiss (I)	6,026	( 7%)

**1980 Primary\***

Bob Livingston (R)	81,777	(88%)
Michael Musmeci Sr. (D)	8,277	( 9%)

\* In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates of all parties. If a candidate wins 50% or more of the vote in the primary no general election is held.

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (86%) 1977\* (51%)

\* Special Election.

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	79,279 (42%)	D	79,056 (50%)
R	103,597 (55%)	R	75,879 (48%)
I	4,074 ( 2%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Livingston (R)	\$242,558	\$41,607 (17%)		\$134,169
1980				
Livingston (R)	\$249,967	\$54,375 (22%)		\$138,724

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	79	14	76	20	84	11
1981	76	21	71	20	76	17
1980	41	51	72	15	81	7
1979	23	72	80	16	90	5
1978	30	67	82	11	88	5
1977	42	53†	80	10†	87	4†

S = Support

O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	X
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	?
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	100	5	82
1981	20	62	27	94
1980	11	83	5	84
1979	11	83	10	94
1978	10	92	15	82
1977	0	78	29	89

**Ohio - 6th District**

## **Bob McEwen (R)**

**Of Hillsboro — Elected 1980**

**Born:** Jan. 12, 1950, Hillsboro, Ohio.  
**Education:** U. of Miami (Fla.), B.B.A. 1972.  
**Occupation:** Real estate developer.  
**Family:** Wife, Elizabeth Boebinger.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** Ohio House, 1975-81.  
**Capitol Office:** 329 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5705.



**In Washington:** A one-time aide to Republican Rep. William H. Harsha, his 6th District predecessor, McEwen landed a seat on the Public Works Committee, where Harsha had spent eight years as ranking minority member before his retirement in 1981.

Harsha was known as a gifted player of pork barrel politics; McEwen is doing his best to match him. At a time when budget cutbacks are delaying or eliminating many federally funded projects across the country, McEwen uses his congenial personal style to convince colleagues that the 6th District should be an exception to the rule.

In the 97th Congress, McEwen helped preserve funding for a gas centrifuge uranium enrichment project at Piketon, in his district. Though the plant has been plagued by costly construction delays, McEwen argued that abandoning the effort would be even more costly and would hamper the nation's nuclear enrichment program.

He prevented Reagan administration efforts to delete money for two bridges that will cross the Ohio River and link southern Ohio with Kentucky. And he secured money for completion of a floodwall project that protects the city of Chillicothe from the vagaries of the Scioto River.

Those and other plums are the stuff of which re-elections are made; McEwen's district, though politically conservative, is amenable to almost any plan that will help it fight economic decline.

**At Home:** McEwen is a real estate developer, but his entire adult life has revolved around politics. He was elected to the state Legislature at age 24, and directed two of Harsha's re-election campaigns. When Harsha retired in 1980, McEwen quickly emerged as the favorite to succeed him.

Harsha remained publicly neutral in the

eight-candidate GOP primary because the field included two other candidates with whom the congressman had past political associations. But McEwen was the choice of the local GOP establishment and, as a state legislator, the only proven vote-getter. In the Ohio House, McEwen had gained visibility by working to get the state to dredge a flood-prone creek in his district. He also advocated abolishing the Ohio lottery.

McEwen won the primary easily, sweeping 10 of the 12 counties in the district. He made particularly good showings in Scioto County (Portsmouth) and three counties he represented in the Legislature — Clinton, Fayette and his home base of Highland.

He enjoyed Harsha's backing in the general election and presented himself as a conservative protégé of the retiring incumbent. He favored the death penalty, opposed legalization of marijuana and called for an end to federal regulations that he said hurt industrial development. His campaign attracted fundamentalist Christian backing.

McEwen also had a campaign treasury about twice as large as that of Democrat Ted Strickland, a minister who had a Ph.D. in psychology and counseling. Democratic leaders tried to get a stronger candidate, but prominent Democrats in the district, such as state House Speaker Vernal G. Riffe Jr., were not interested.

Redistricting added to the diversity of the 6th, pushing it northwestward. But against an underfunded Democratic challenger in 1982, McEwen had no trouble emerging as an example of the "sophomore surge." He was re-elected with a tally nearly 5 percentage points higher than the vote he drew in 1980.

Bob McEwen, R-Ohio

## Ohio 6

The 6th is a mixture of suburbia and Appalachia. Republican majorities in the Cincinnati and Dayton suburbs and the countryside nearby enable the GOP to win most elections. But when the Democrats run well in Appalachia, as they occasionally do, the outcome can be close.

Nearly one-third of the voters in the 6th live in a suburban sector between Cincinnati and Dayton, part of which was gained in redistricting. The new territory, which lies north of Interstate 71, the major Cincinnati-to-Columbus artery, is Republican.

Immediately east is rural Republican country. Clinton and Highland counties and the southern portion of Fayette County lie on the outer fringe of the Corn Belt.

Farther east the land is poorer and Republican strength begins to diminish. When one enters Adams County, one is in Appalachia. Adams, Pike and Vinton counties are three of the four poorest in Ohio.

Nearly one-half the land area of this

South Central —  
Portsmouth; Chillicothe

Appalachian portion is enclosed in the Wayne National Forest. What little industry exists is concentrated in Portsmouth (pop. 25,943) and Chillicothe (pop. 23,420).

While steel and bricks have been linchpins of Portsmouth's economy throughout the century, the largest employer in the district is the nearby uranium enrichment facility owned by the Atomic Energy Commission and operated by Goodyear. In Chillicothe, 44 miles due north of Portsmouth, nearby forests support a large paper plant.

Spurred by a revival in the coal industry, the Appalachian 6th was one of the fastest-growing parts of Ohio in the 1970s. But as the coal boom ebbed, unemployment soared. In 1982, five of the region's seven counties had rates over 17 percent.

Population: 514,895. White 501,745 (97%), Black 10,499 (2%). Spanish origin 2,531 (1%). 18 and over 359,641 (70%), 65 and over 56,017 (11%). Median age: 30.

## Committees

**Public Works and Transportation** (9th of 18 Republicans)  
Aviation; Economic Development; Water Resources.

**Veterans' Affairs** (5th of 12 Republicans)  
Compensation, Pension and Insurance (ranking); Hospitals and Health Care.

## Elections

**1982 General**  
Bob McEwen (R) 92,135 (59%)  
Lynn Grimshaw (D) 63,435 (41%)

**1980 General**  
Bob McEwen (R) 101,288 (55%)  
Ted Strickland (D) 84,235 (45%)

## District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	61,496 (38%)	D	85,675 (48%)
R	93,577 (57%)	R	91,021 (51%)
I	6,356 (4%)		

## Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
McEwen (R)	\$144,058	\$67,154 (47%)	\$141,631
Grimshaw (D)	\$81,344	\$13,100 (16%)	\$71,085

## 1980

McEwen (R)	\$183,324	\$89,001 (49%)	\$182,387
Strickland (D)	\$76,622	\$32,250 (42%)	\$76,212

## Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	58	34	77	18	77	18
1981	76	24	90	8	91	7

S = Support      O = Opposition

## Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	Y
Delete MX funding (1982)	N
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	Y
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	N

## Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
<b>1982</b>	30	77	30	86
<b>1981</b>	0	83	20	89

**Texas - 12th District**

## Jim Wright (D)

### Of Fort Worth — Elected 1954

**Born:** Dec. 22, 1922, Fort Worth, Texas.  
**Education:** Attended Weatherford College; U. of Texas 1940-41.  
**Military Career:** Army 1941-45.  
**Occupation:** Advertising executive.  
**Family:** Wife, Betty Hay; four children.  
**Religion:** Presbyterian.  
**Political Career:** Texas House, 1947-49; Mayor of Weatherford, 1950-54; defeated for U.S. Senate, 1961.  
**Capitol Office:** 1236 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5071.



**In Washington:** The early months of Ronald Reagan's administration were a special source of embarrassment for Wright, who had to watch as the president carried vote after vote by raiding the majority leader's own in-House constituency of Southern Democrats.

Within his Texas delegation alone, at least a dozen Democrats deserted Wright for Reagan on the crucial budget and tax votes. "I feel like the wife who was asked whether she ever considered divorce," Wright said at one point. "She answered 'Divorce, no, murder, yes.' That's how I feel about those guys."

As second in command to Tip O'Neill within the House leadership, Wright had a special assignment at the start of the 97th Congress. It was his job to establish decent working relations with the Southerners whose votes had made him majority leader but who were personally and politically reluctant to oppose the incoming president.

Wright went out of his way to help the most conservative Democrat of all, Phil Gramm of Texas, win a place on the Budget Committee. He joined Gramm in introducing legislation that would have required the president to offer Congress a balanced budget by 1984. But the results of this effort at détente were nil. Gramm cosponsored the Reagan budget on the House floor, and neither Wright's personal pleading nor his famous rhetoric turned more than a handful of Southern votes against it.

When Reagan's tax cut came to the floor in August of 1981, Wright urged Southerners to be careful. "Stay with us," he warned. "Don't commit yourselves too early. You don't want to be in the position of giving \$6.5 billion to the super-rich." But 36 Southern Democrats, including eight Texans, helped Reagan win easily.

That Christmas, the majority leader called 1981 "the hardest year I've experienced in the Congress — the most frustrating year." He said he had been "singularly unsuccessful in providing the kind of leadership the post would seem to require."

More important from the point of view of some liberal Democrats, Wright showed no immediate interest in punishing the conservative renegades for their pro-Reagan posture. "We're going to open the door and invite them back in," he said early in 1982. We're just going to love them to death."

But if those events hurt Wright permanently among House Democrats, there have been few clear signs of it. By early 1982, the majority leader had a new assignment: strategist and spokesman for the effort to move a public jobs program through the House. After working all summer with Budget chairman James R. Jones of Oklahoma and Education and Labor chairman Carl Perkins of Kentucky, Wright offered the first Democratic package in September of 1982. It would have provided \$1 billion for 200,000 jobs.

That legislation passed the House, attached to a supplemental labor appropriations bill. It did not become law, nor did a more ambitious version Wright worked on a few months later, to spend \$5 billion and create 350,000 jobs. But early in the 98th Congress, the president gave in to the House leadership and agreed to support legislation to provide more than \$4 billion for job creation.

Wright's work on the jobs issue helped restore his credentials among liberal Democrats who had complained openly that he was going a little too far in his effort to make friends with the likes of Phil Gramm. The majority leader's image as a national Democrat was further

*Jim Wright, D-Texas*

## Texas 12

Less than half the size of neighboring Dallas, and declining in population, Fort Worth projects a blue-collar and Western roughneck image that contrasts with its more sophisticated neighbor.

But that image of the city — which comprises nearly 60 percent of the 12th's population — is not entirely accurate. Celebrations such as the Southwestern Exposition Fat Stock Show and Rodeo may recall Fort Worth's heyday as a cattle marketing center, but since World War II the city has been a major manufacturer of military and aerospace equipment, and electronics is increasingly prominent. General Dynamics and Bell Helicopter, which lies just beyond the 12th's eastern boundary, are among the area's leading employers; both firms regularly net huge defense contracts.

As many middle- and upper-income Fort Worth residents have fled the city, formerly rural territory in surrounding Tarrant County has sprouted shopping malls and suburbs. Old residential neighborhoods on the city's Near South Side are now largely black; the Near North Side hosts a sizable Hispanic community.

Efforts have been made to upgrade

## Fort Worth; Northwest Tarrant County

urban Fort Worth. A northern portion of the city once given over to stockyards now hosts Billy Bob's, a huge Western-style complex where urban cowboys drink, shop and watch live rodeo.

The affluent western and southwestern sections of the city and its suburbs give the 12th a Republican vote of some significance. The northeastern Mid-Cities area in the corridor between Fort Worth and Dallas is a pocket of affluent, GOP-minded voters. The redrawn 12th narrowly favored Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential race.

But the combined forces of organized labor, liberals, low-income whites and minorities — Hispanics and blacks make up more than one-fourth of the district's population — generally lift Democrats to victory here. The 12th gave Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Hill 54 percent of the vote in his unsuccessful 1978 Statehouse bid.

Population: 527,074. White 399,839 (76%), Black 90,979 (17%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,773 (1%). Spanish origin 54,697 (10%). 18 and over 374,579 (71%), 65 and over 53,166 (10%). Median age: 29.

helped by his vocal opposition to the constitutional amendment for a balanced federal budget, which came up on the floor in October of 1982. Although it involved changing the Constitution, this measure had some similarities to Wright's own proposal of early 1981. But he helped work out the strategy against it, a conspicuous gesture in a liberal Democratic direction.

By March of 1983, Wright had clearly been restored to the position of Speaker-in-waiting — if he had ever lost it. O'Neill, in announcing his own intention to run for re-election in 1984, delivered what amounted to an endorsement of Wright for the time when the Speakership finally opens up.

Few Democrats thought of Wright as a likely winner in 1976 when he announced for majority leader, offering himself as an alternative to the bitterly antagonistic front-runners, Richard Bolling of Missouri and Phillip Burton of California. But on the day of decision, he eliminated Bolling by three votes on the second ballot and Burton by one vote on the third.

The Texan had one enormous advantage. Unlike his two rivals, he had few enemies. He had always compromised personal differences when possible, or disagreed gently if he had to. He aimed to please — if not everyone, then as many as possible. When he had something good to say about a colleague, he went out of his way to say it.

Shortly before the 1976 balloting, Wright addressed newly elected Democrats. With elaborate courtesy, he said something flattering about each of his opponents, and then, almost as an afterthought, suggested he might be a combination of the best in each of them.

In courting senior Democrats, he had another advantage. From his position on Public Works, he had done countless small favors, making sure there was a dam here or a federal building there. He reminded New Yorkers he voted for federal aid to their city. He noted one-third of the House Democrats came from Southern and Southwestern states and said they deserved a spot in the leadership.

As majority leader, Wright has been a loyal

**Texas - 12th District**

O'Neill lieutenant, serving as the leadership man on the Budget Committee and on the ad hoc panel that assembled President Carter's energy bills in the 95th Congress. He still aims to please. He never misses an opportunity, for example, to say Tip O'Neill is the smartest man alive at counting votes in the House.

If Wright is ingratiating, however, he is not modest. He sees himself as a voice of reason, an accomplished writer and a well-read and thoughtful member of Congress. He is proud of his reputation for oratory in a chamber where such talents are dying out. He is florid and sometimes theatrical, slipping unusual words into his speeches and rolling them slowly off his tongue, savoring each syllable. He is alternately loud and very soft, forcing listeners to lean forward to hear him and then surprising them by turning up the volume.

He is sometimes preachy, sometimes patronizing. "I am deeply humble and grateful.... I want the president [Reagan] to succeed very much because I want the country to succeed.... We've got to dream bold dreams.... We sat down and hammered upon the anvils of mutual understanding...."

House GOP leader Robert H. Michel has referred to this style as "the syrup and the eyebrows." Critics see it as trite or self-indulgent. But it can be effective. Wright changed numerous votes with his eloquent speech in 1979 against expelling Michigan Democrat Charles C. Diggs Jr., who had been convicted on kickback charges. "We do not possess the power," Wright said, "to grant to any human being the right to serve in this body. That gift is not ours to bestow."

In the exchanges of House floor debate, Wright sometimes surprises people with emotional excess. He has a hot temper. Several times during any Congress, when he is angry at an opponent, he will blurt out something unkind and be forced to apologize later. But even then the ingratiating side soon takes over. Wright's apologies are often so effusive the entire episode balances out as a compliment.

When he became majority leader, Wright had to give up his membership on the Public Works Committee, which he was in line to chair in 1977. Wright's years on Public Works helped to define his politics. He is a bread-and-butter Democrat who speaks in proud terms about the roads, dams and other forms of tangible government largesse his old committee specializes in. His support for public jobs in 1982 was no short-term political gesture — he has been pushing a public works solution to the unemployment problem for nearly 30 years. He has never felt comfortable with the environmental-

ist argument that the nation has enough water projects and enough highways.

In his early years on Public Works, Wright took the lead in exposing what he called "the great highway robbery," trying to root out fraud and corruption in the massive Interstate system. But he never lost his confidence in the system itself.

He has been similarly consistent in his backing for water projects and has been something of a water policy specialist. At the start of the Carter administration, he played a key role in trying to bargain with a president determined to eliminate a long list of water development projects. But he avoided criticizing Carter publicly when other Democrats were doing so.

Outside Public Works, Wright has been a strong supporter of defense spending and especially helpful to General Dynamics, his district's leading employer and producer of the TFX fighter plane. For years, Wright exercised his oratorical skills on behalf of the much maligned TFX, sparring with members from the state of Washington, home of Boeing, General Dynamics' chief rival. In more recent times, Wright has continued to speak up for successors to the TFX.

He is similarly enthusiastic about synthetic fuels development and has worked hard to convince other party leaders that synfuels ought to be included in any future Democratic energy agenda. He was instrumental in overwhelming House passage of a loan guarantee system for synfuels development in 1980; the next year, when the Reagan administration sought to scale down the program, Wright gathered the signatures of 30 Democrats and 4 Republicans on a letter arguing against it. But synfuels enthusiasm has been waning since then.

Wright once wrote a magazine article, "Clean Money for Congress," noting that he accepted only small campaign contributions. But in recent years, like many members, he has become dependent on larger givers. His finances have been complicated by debts he incurred in running for the Senate in 1961, and he has spent years trying to straighten them out. In 1976, he raised \$132,000 at a \$1,000-a-plate Washington fund-raiser and used \$84,000 to pay off debts still outstanding from the old Senate race. He had taken out personal loans to try to repay his contributors, and his personal and political finances had become entangled. He said he had been a poor financial manager but violated no law.

**At Home:** As majority leader, Wright must support and defend national Democratic policies that are not always popular in Fort

**Jim Wright, D-Texas**

Worth. Republicans tried to portray him in 1980 as too liberal for the 12th, but the GOP effort was a costly failure, and Wright now seems safely ensconced in a district that perceives him as a centrist despite his close association with Speaker O'Neill.

For most of the 1970s, Wright was so secure at home that he was able to devote most of his campaigning time to other Democrats across the country. This field work augmented Wright's influence in the House; candidates elected with Wright's help often became his allies in Congress.

In 1980, national GOP strategists decided to take a serious shot at Wright, partly just to keep him occupied at home, but also to see whether he had lost touch with Tarrant County, which was being lured rightward by the candidacy of Ronald Reagan.

The Republican nominee was Jim Bradshaw, a former mayor pro tempore of Fort Worth who insistently denounced Wright as beholden to liberals and the Washington establishment. Bradshaw — young, well-known and articulate — convinced conservative money that Wright could be beaten; the Republican collected more than \$600,000 from local and national sources.

But Wright would not be outdone. He raised and spent more than \$1.1 million, using the money to tout his congressional influence and his ability to draw military contracts and other federal plums to Fort Worth. He even sent a letter to local businessmen, telling them to back Bradshaw if they wished, but reminding them he would still be around and would remember it. Wright retained his seat with ease, winning 60 percent of the vote even though Reagan carried the 12th over Carter in presidential voting.

In 1982 Republican resistance to Wright was minimal. Only carpenter Jim Ryan entered the GOP primary; outspent by more than 10-to-1, he won fewer than one-third of the November ballots.

For virtually his entire adult life, Wright has been immersed in politics. In 1946, shortly after returning from combat in the South Pacific, he won a seat in the Texas Legislature. He lost a re-election bid two years later but in 1950 began a four-year tenure as mayor of Weatherford, a small town about 20 miles west of Fort Worth. In 1953, he served as president of the League of Texas Municipalities.

Wright was known in those years as a liberal crusader, thanks to his support for anti-lynching legislation and for federal school aid. In 1954 he challenged the conservative incumbent, Rep. Wingate Lucas, in the Democratic primary. Wright was opposed by much of the Fort Worth business establishment, but he turned that to his advantage by portraying himself as the candidate of the average man. He defeated Lucas by a margin of about 3-2.

Once established in the House, and recognized as a young man of talent and ambition, Wright had to decide whether to stay there. "You reach the point," he complained, "where you're not expanding your influence." The Senate beckoned, and in April 1961 he ran in a special election for the seat vacated by Vice President Johnson. The field of more than 70 candidates badly split the Democratic vote, and Texas elected John G. Tower, its first Republican senator since Reconstruction. Wright placed third, narrowly missing a runoff he probably would have won.

Wright next considered running for governor, but gave it up and began to aim for a 1966 Senate campaign. His vote the year before to repeal state "right-to-work" laws increased his following in organized labor, but it chilled his support in the Texas business community and made it difficult for him to raise money. Low on funds, he made an emotional statewide telecast appealing for \$10 contributions to the half-million-dollar fund he said he would need for the race. Only \$48,000 flowed in, mostly from his district, and Wright was forced to abandon his candidacy.

**Committees****Majority Leader**

Budget (2nd of 20 Democrats)  
Member of all Task Forces.

**Elections****1982 General**

Jim Wright (D)	78,913	(69%)
Jim Ryan (R)	34,879	(31%)

**1980 General**

Jim Wright (D)	99,104	(60%)
Jim Bradshaw (R)	65,005	(39%)

Previous Winning Percentages:

1978 (69%)	1976 (76%)
1974 (79%)	1972 (100%)
1970 (100%)	1968 (100%)
1966 (100%)	1964 (69%)
1962 (61%)	1960 (100%)
1958 (100%)	1956 (100%)
1954 (99%)	

**District Vote For President**

1980		1976	
D	77,202 (48%)	D	74,846 (53%)
R	79,254 (49%)	R	63,612 (45%)
I	3,272 (2%)		

*Jim Wright, D-Texas***Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expend- itures
<b>1982</b>				
Wright (D)	\$557,636	\$237,036 (43%)		\$448,471
Ryan (R)	\$45,033	\$5,902 (13%)		\$34,520
<b>1980</b>				
Wright (D)	\$1,131,458	\$345,073 (30%)		\$1,193,622
Bradshaw (R)	\$524,203	\$83,757 (16%)		\$523,884

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	48	48	79	16	56	36
1981	49	43	60	23	63	28
1980	74	16	78	5	32	48
1979	69	14	77	9	35	52
1978	68	22	77	12	33	57
1977	77	16	82	9	27	64
1976	45	49	61	29	59	32
1975	52	45	64	31	59	36
1974 (Ford)	50	26				
1974	53	32	62	26	49	36
1973	39	45	71	19	44	47
1972	57	38	62	26	50	38
1971	67	19	43	27	48	23
1970	52	31	57	26	43	39
1969	55	23	65	16	38	53
1968	64	16	57	16	35	41
1967	76	9	78	8	30	52
1966	72	11	68	13	32	38
1965	76	4	60	9	22	45
1964	81	10	76	8	33	50
1963	76	7	76	7	40	27

1982	75	22	63	26	44	50
1981	54	12	52	9	39	9

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	S
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	55	39	75	38
1981	30	28	67	29
1980	39	29	71	73
1979	37	8	59	41
1978	35	29	83	33
1977	45	4	95	29
1976	30	19	86	50
1975	32	46	65	24
1974	30	31	70	50
1973	40	24	80	44
1972	19	41	80	33
1971	24	40	86	-
1970	32	35	-	-
1969	33	17	-	-
1968	50	5	-	-
1967	60	7	-	22
1966	29	29	-	-
1965	42	8	-	20
1964	72	12	73	-
1963	-	13	-	-
1962	63	24	73	-
1961	50	-	-	-

Illinois - 18th District

## Robert H. Michel (R)

**Of Peoria — Elected 1956**

**Born:** March 2, 1923, Peoria, Ill.  
**Education:** Bradley U., B.S. 1948.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1942-46.  
**Occupation:** Congressional aide.  
**Family:** Wife, Corinne Woodruff; four children.  
**Religion:** Apostolic Christian.  
**Political Career:** No previous office.  
**Capitol Office:** 2112 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6201.



**In Washington:** While Howard H. Baker Jr. was drawing unanimous praise in 1981 for persuading a Republican Senate to pass a Republican economic program, his House counterpart was doing something much more impressive — quietly moving that same program through a chamber in which the GOP was a distinct minority.

Through months of bargaining and lobbying over President Reagan's budget and tax bills, Bob Michel was the man the White House depended on for a sense of strategy and timing in the House. To pass those measures, Michel had to steer them through the factional problems of both parties, working with the White House to sweeten the legislation for conservative Democrats without alienating moderate Republicans from the urban Northeast. The real tribute to his skill was the virtual unanimity of the GOP vote: a combined 568-3 on the trio of decisive tax and budget decisions during 1981.

Michel had a different approach for every Republican faction. He made it clear to the moderate "Gypsy Moths" that their overall budget support would count later on when they wanted specific financial help for their districts. He persuaded the militant Reaganites not to pick any fights with the moderates while the key legislation was still pending. "You can't treat two alike," he explained later. "I know what I can get and what I can't, when to back off and when to push harder. It's not a matter of twisting arms. It's bringing them along by gentle persuasion."

As sweet as those victories were for Michel, he did not have much time to savor them. By the time the House returned from its August recess that year, Reaganomics was under attack even on the Republican side for the high interest rates and budget deficits it seemed to be generating.

Michel began striking a posture more independent of Reagan, one he would maintain

through the rest of the 97th Congress. In October 1981 he announced that Reagan's proposed \$16 billion in new domestic spending cuts could never pass. The next January he declared that Reagan's proposed 1983 budget would go nowhere unless the deficit were reduced. A few weeks later, he began lobbying the White House for a tax increase to get the deficit down, a tactic the president eventually supported.

In the spring of 1982 Michel loyally worked for the revised budget backed by Reagan and managed its passage after weeks of stalemate. By that time, though, he was facing his most determined opposition from the Republican right, whose members complained that the Reagan-Michel compromise was too soft on the social welfare programs against which the president had campaigned.

As he moved toward a moderate Republican position — in favor of lowering the deficit through a tax increase rather than more heavy spending cuts — Michel was meeting his constituent needs both inside and outside the House.

Over the years, his Peoria-based district had moved beyond its earlier Corn Belt conservatism and developed the problems of a declining Frostbelt industrial area. Some of the Reaganomics votes that were popular for Southern and Western Republicans did not play very well in Peoria, as Michel's brush with defeat in 1982 was to prove.

And within the chamber, Michel had developed strong personal ties to the Gypsy Moth Republicans. They had been his primary constituency in his campaign for party leader in 1981; most of the hard-line Reaganites had backed Guy A. Vander Jagt of Michigan. Gypsy Moth leaders such as Carl D. Pursell of Michigan had swallowed hard and backed the Reagan budget partly as a favor to Michel in 1981, and Michel responded sympathetically when

Robert H. Michel, R-Ill.

## Illinois 18

## Central — Peoria

The 18th zigs and zags from Peoria south to the outskirts of Decatur and Springfield and west to Hancock County on the Mississippi. A mostly rural area, it is linked by the broad Illinois River basin, ideal for growing corn. The only major urban area is made up of Peoria, with 124,160 residents, and neighboring Pekin, Everett M. Dirksen's hometown, with 33,967.

Although redistricting in 1981 gave Michel more than 200,000 new constituents, it did not hurt him on a partisan basis. The GOP may be even a bit stronger within the new district lines than in the old ones; Ronald Reagan's 1980 vote was 60 percent in the old 18th, and 61.2 percent in the new one.

Michel's hometown of Peoria, however, is a troubled industrial city. It is dominated by the Caterpillar Tractor Company, which makes its international headquarters there and employs more than 30,000 people in the district at five different plants. Peoria has lost much of its other industry in the past decade, including a once thriving brewery. Pekin is a grain processing and shipping

center; it produces ethanol, both for fuel and for drink.

In the 1960s Peoria anchored the southern end of the district; in the 1970s it was in the center. For the 1980s it is perched at the northern tip. Peoria and Tazewell counties are the only territory remaining from the district that elected Michel in 1970. As redrawn, the 18th is a particularly fragmented constituency. Michel once represented eight counties and most of a ninth, but now he is responsible not only for eight complete counties but also parts of eight more.

Seven of the eight entire counties included in the district gave Reagan at least 60 percent of the vote in the 1980 presidential election. In the 1982 governor's race, GOP incumbent James R. Thompson carried seven of the eight.

Population: 519,026. White 490,556 (95%), Black 23,919 (5%). Spanish origin 3,728 (1%). 18 and over 368,659 (71%), 65 and over 62,341 (12%). Median age: 30.

they told him they could no longer accept Reaganomics.

Late in 1981, when several conservative Republicans said they wanted to form a pro-Reagan pressure group to counter the Gypsy Moths, Michel talked them out of it. "They're too good as people to dismiss," he said of the Gypsy Moths at that time. "I love those guys, even if we've been voting on opposite sides for years."

Whatever the failures of the Reagan program, Michel emerged from the twists and turns of the 97th Congress with a broad respect few House leaders have generated in modern times. That respect extended clear through Democratic ranks: On election night, when it was clear that Michel had survived, Speaker O'Neill openly expressed his relief, breaking an unwritten rule of partisanship that House leaders are supposed to obey.

Michel won his position as Republican leader in 1981 on the same qualities that have traditionally won House GOP elections — cloakroom companionship, homespun Midwestern conservatism, an appetite for legislative detail and a knowledge of the rules.

When Republicans chose him over Vander Jagt by a 103-87 vote, they opted for Michel's "workhorse" campaign arguments against Vander Jagt's oratorical flourishes. Michel has as good a baritone voice as there is in the House, but he is not exactly an orator; his sentences often begin with volume and emphasis and end in a trail of prepositions. But Michel is at home on the House floor, where Vander Jagt has been a stranger most of his career, and in a newly conservative House, most Republicans decided strategy was preferable to speeches.

Like his two immediate predecessors as Republican leader, John J. Rhodes and Gerald R. Ford, Michel is a product of the Appropriations Committee. Like them, he has spent most of his career arguing over money and detail rather than broad policy questions. But a quarter-century on that committee made Michel a top-flight negotiator, skilled in the trade-offs and compromises that are the hallmark of the appropriations process.

Concentrating on the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare Subcommittee at Appropriations, he was in a minority for years against a working majority of liberal Democrats and Re-

*Illinois - 18th District*

publicans. Every year, when the subcommittee reported its spending bill, he took the House floor to say that it cost too much and wasted too much. But his efforts to scale back spending rarely succeeded.

About the only exceptions came in cases where he could suggest a hint of scandal. In 1978, after the Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) inspector general issued a report showing widespread waste and fraud in Medicaid, Michel was able to get the House to adopt an amendment requiring the department to trim \$1 billion worth of waste and fraud from its budget. HEW said it could not find that much of either, but Michel followed up the next year with a second \$500 million cut.

The effort was largely symbolic, but it was not lost on presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, who made the elimination of such abuses a key part of his campaign.

Michel also anticipated Reagan by making an issue of entitlements — the programs like Social Security and Medicare that are not limited by regular congressional appropriations. Arguing that 75 percent of the domestic budget is now in this category, Michel has insisted repeatedly that federal spending can never be brought under control unless the rules are changed on entitlements. In 1979 Michel introduced an amendment that successfully blocked the House from making child welfare payments a new entitlement.

Michel's conservatism is primarily fiscal. Although he is a strong opponent of abortion, he has never had much in common with the New Right social conservatives who began entering House Republican ranks in large numbers in the late 1970s.

At the beginning of 1979, when the aggressive class of GOP freshmen accused Rhodes of being too compliant in his dealings with the majority Democrats, Michel found himself under attack as part of the Rhodes leadership. He chafed privately at talk that he was not combative enough, citing the years he had spent fighting to cut HEW budgets. But he found it difficult to defend himself without appearing to break with Rhodes.

Rhodes announced his impending retirement as party leader in December 1979, and from that time on Michel and Vander Jagt were open competitors for the leadership job.

Michel started out with a big advantage among senior members, who knew him well, and among most moderates, who found him less strident than Vander Jagt. But Vander Jagt, as chairman of the campaign committee that donated money to GOP challengers, had the edge among those recently elected.

The sparring between the two candidates extended to the 1980 Republican convention in Detroit. When Vander Jagt was selected as keynote speaker, Michel's forces complained, and their man was made floor manager for Ronald Reagan.

In the weeks before the November election, it was clear that Michel had an edge. Vander Jagt needed the benefit of an unusually large new 1980 Republican class to have any chance.

The returns actually brought 52 new Republicans, more than even Vander Jagt had hopefully anticipated. But by installing Republican control in the White House and in the Senate, the election also helped Michel. It allowed him to argue successfully that President Reagan needed a tactician to help him move his program through the House, not a fiery speaker. Vander Jagt got his majority of the newcomers, but it was not a large enough majority to deny Michel the leadership.

**At Home:** Michel's role as Reagan's spokesman in the House nearly thrust him into the growing ranks of Peoria's unemployed in 1982. Voters in the 18th were so enraged with Reaganomics that they gave 48 percent of the vote to Democrat G. Douglas Stephens, a 31-year-old labor lawyer making his first bid for elective office.

A narrow escape from defeat had been the furthest thing from Michel's mind at the outset of 1982. In January his re-election seemed cinched when the filing deadline for congressional candidates passed without any Democratic entry in the 18th. But Stephens and another Democrat, state Rep. Gerald R. Bradley, realized that the Democratic nomination would be worth having in November if by that time a substantial number of voters had lost faith in the restorative powers of GOP economic policy.

So Stephens and Bradley launched write-in efforts in the March primary. With strong support from labor unions, which he had served as a lawyer in disability cases, Stephens generated three times as many write-in ballots as Bradley.

In the fall campaign, Stephens told voters that Michel's role as chief mover of Reagan programs in the House put him at odds with the district's factory workers, farmers, small-business people, poor and elderly, all of whom Stephens said had been adversely affected by Reagan policies.

The Democrat criticized Michel particularly for failing to convince Reagan to lift U.S. sanctions on selling natural gas pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union. Those sanctions cost

**Robert H. Michel, R-Ill.**

Caterpillar and other Illinois heavy equipment companies lucrative contracts, exacerbating already high levels of unemployment in the 18th.

The national Democratic Party did not give Stephens a great deal of financial help, but it did focus attention on the campaign, hoping to pull off an upset that would be seen as a resounding rejection of Reaganomics from the heartland. Michel's task was complicated also by redistricting, which gave him a territory where some 45 percent of the people were new to him.

Initially slow to counterattack, Michel began to cast Stephens as a puppet of organized labor and a negativist foe with few constructive suggestions and a limited record of involvement in community activities. Michel proved capable at blending modern-style media appeals with traditional person-to-person campaigning.

Shortly before the election, Reagan appeared in the district on Michel's behalf and hinted at the forthcoming removal of sanctions on the sale of pipeline equipment to the Soviets.

In the two most populous counties of the district — Peoria and Tazewell — Michel was held to 51 percent. Stephens finished first in four other counties, but Michel's slim margins in the district's 10 remaining counties pulled

him to victory by a margin of 6,125 votes. In his victory speech on election night, Michel said he had come to realize that his constituency expected some modifications in Reaganomics to relieve unemployment.

Prior to 1982, Michel's re-election margins were rarely overwhelming, but he encountered close races only in the Democratic years of 1964 and 1974. Relative peace at the polls gave him time to concentrate on mastering the politics of Congress.

Michel was born in Peoria, the son of a French immigrant factory worker. Shortly after graduating from Bradley University in Peoria, he went to work for the district's newly elected representative, Republican Harold Velde.

Velde became chairman of the old House Un-American Activities Committee during the Republican-dominated 83rd Congress (1953-55) and received much publicity for his hunt for Communist subversives. Michel rose to become Velde's administrative assistant.

In 1956 Velde retired and Michel ran for the seat. Still not very well-known in the district, Michel nevertheless had the support of many of the county organizations, whose political contact he had been in Washington. He won the primary with 48 percent of the vote against four opponents.

**Committees**

Minority Leader

**Elections**

<b>1982 General</b>			
Robert H. Michel (R)	97,406	(52%)	
G. Douglas Stephens (D)	91,281	(48%)	
<b>1980 General</b>			
Robert H. Michel (R)	125,561	(62%)	
John Kruppel (D)	76,471	(38%)	
<b>Previous Winning Percentages:</b>			
1978 (66%)	1976 (58%)		
1974 (55%)	1972 (65%)	1970 (66%)	1968 (61%)
1966 (58%)	1964 (54%)	1962 (61%)	1960 (59%)
1958 (60%)	1956 (59%)		

**District Vote For President**

<b>1980</b>		<b>1976</b>	
D	71,861 (32%)	D	92,613 (44%)
R	137,198 (61%)	R	114,120 (55%)
I	12,710 (6%)		

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1982</b>			
Michel (R)	\$697,087	\$471,129 (68%)	\$652,773
Stephens (D)	\$174,559	\$96,480 (55%)	\$165,777
<b>1980</b>			
Michel (R)	\$168,667	\$98,624 (58%)	\$134,540
Kruppel (D)	\$34,894	\$5,750 (16%)	\$34,483

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	83	12	81	16	89	10
1981	80	17	82	11	83	13
1980	37	51	84	8	79	12
1979	30	58	76	12	85	6
1978	42	56	77	14	80	12
1977	44	44	75	10	82	4
1976	78	12	87	8	85	10
1975	88	8	82	9	82	10
1974 (Ford)	65	22				
1974	79	9	69	15	77	15
1973	75	17	84	7	86	5
1972	51	24	72	10	77	7
1971	75	16	74	10	76	6
1970	74	9	74	7	70	7
1969	64	28	69	20	80	11
1968	42	38	66	13	63	18
1967	37	51	84	7	81	7
1966	32	44	71	4	65	5
1965	27	54	76	10	76	12
1964	35	58	71	10	83	17
1963	18	55	67	9	53	27
1962	18	65	75	5	81	0
1961	22	60	69	14	78	9

S = Support

O = Opposition

**Key Votes**

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	Y
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	N
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	N
Index income taxes (1981)	Y

Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)  
 Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)  
 Delete MX funding (1982)  
 Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)  
 Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)

N  
Y  
N  
Y  
N

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### Illinois - 18th District

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### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	5	87	10	80
1981	10	86	0	100
1980	6	82	11	74
1979	5	87	10	100
1978	15	75	5	89